THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

AMERICANS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

A Study of Assimilation in the American Community

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Social Sciences in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology
1946

by

Forrest E. LaViolette

Toronto
The Canadian Institute of International Affairs
1946

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Printed in Canada by
Associated Printers Limited
Toronto

PREFACE

This book is about the family and community life of Americans of Japanese ancestry. It describes, in summary and through many examples, some of the problems of these people, problems resulting from a bi-racial, bi-cultural milieu in which racial discrimination is a compelling fact of life. For details regarding the immigration of Japanese, their settlement and occupations in America, the ensuing agitations and legislation about them and the diplomatic problems these have raised, the reader is referred to the many excellent publications listed in the bibliography.

Japanese-Americans are here singled out for treatment from the other groups in the United States who suffer in varying degrees from racial discrimination. It is probably true that all groups of Americans, except the aboriginal Indians, are worried about the "Old Country", and consequently, that a study of any one group's orientation will provide parallels that should lead to a wider understanding of common problems. Yet each group is in some respects unique. Japanese immigrants, for example, approached this continent via Angel Island rather than Ellis Island; they came from a nation which for a thousand years had not been fighting against greater nations for survival. Such distinctive factors have conditioned the manner of their adjustment in the New World, which is here the specific subject of study.

Although it deals with an American problem of assimilation, this book owes its publication to two Canadian bodies: the Canadian Social Science Research Council, whose grant was an encouragement and assistance in the preparation of the manuscript; and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs which, through its Research Committee, has sponsored the publication. It is hoped that this material will encourage further research among the two groups of Japanese, those in Canada and those in the United States, for these are, to use a point made by William Hosokawa, the only two countries in the world concerned with problems of assimilating

such a divergent group as the immigrant Japanese and their children.

The situation of Japanese-Americans is basically similar to that of Japanese-Canadians. For example, the settlement of Japanese around Los Angeles corresponds to the pre-war concentration of about 75 per cent. of the Canadian Japanese within a 50-mile radius of Vancouver. Manifestations of social and economic discrimination have been much the same on both sides of the border. Yet the Canadian Japanese claim that they are about ten years behind the American Japanese in their evolutionary development. The Canadian assimilation process does work more quietly than the American, and we suspect that it works more slowly, due to the nature of the institutions and their geographic distribution.

Certainly instances can be quoted to show that the Japanese in Canada are under some special handicaps, in addition to those they have in common with American Japanese. In British Columbia citizens of Japanese ancestry have no vote (legislation disenfranchising the Chinese goes back to 1875, the Japanese to 1895). Since they have no provincial vote, Japanese-Canadians are debarred from participation in dominion elections as well. Certain professions are automatically closed to them because they are not on the voters' list. Economic opportunities in general are more limited in Canada than in the United States. In consequence, the educational opportunities for Japanese in Canada are also limited. At the time that evacuation took place, there were about 40 Canadian *nisei* at the University of British Columbia. The highest number of graduates in any one year to date has been 10. Student population figures show that a much greater proportion of American *nisei* were finding it possible to attend colleges and universities, partly because in the United States the cost of education was lower and more schools were available than in Canada.

Much of the material in this book applies to both Japanese-Americans and Japanese-Canadians. A few notable exceptions, however, may be mentioned. *Chapter VI*: Canadian informants claim that the Japanese-Canadians did not make any considerable effort to improve housing conditions until 1938, a little later than the parallel movement in the United States. *Chapter VII*:

Although the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war created conflict and confusion in both countries, it is the writer's impression that this was more marked, and accompanied by more propaganda, in California than was the case farther north. *Chapter VIII*: Discrimination in Canada has taken somewhat different forms, and offered fewer avenues of escape than that in the United States. Consequently the adjustments to inferiority are different in some respects. One of the noticeable differences has been that Canadian *nisei* have tended less to break away from the parental generation. Thus the *kibei* have not become a highly differentiated group in Canada, although they are identified as such in their communities. Since evacuation in February, 1942, policy has been defined only in tentative and temporary terms; no permanent solution of evacuation and resettlement issues has yet been framed. Although British Columbians refer to themselves as the "Californians of Canada", in distribution of population and economic organizations the two areas differ, so it is doubtful whether the Canadian government will find it possible to permit the evacuated Japanese to return to the coastal strip for some years. If this is the case, the contrast between settlement and assimilation here and across the border may be heightened. In spite of points of similarity between the situations of Japanese-Americans and Japanese-Canadians, the differences are significant, arising chiefly from differences in the legal systems of the two countries, from dissimilar developments of the concept of citizenship (*cf.* American and Canadian attitudes on the franchise and military service), and from the fact that American social organization is much more in flux than that of Canada.

At the time field work for this study was being done, material on the cultural heritage of the immigrant Japanese was available only in scattered references. However, John Embree's *Suye Mura*, describing life in Japan, has since been published, and has proved most useful in the final preparation of this manuscript. The *Survey of Race Relations* documents, prepared under the sponsorship of the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York City, with Dr. Robert E. Park as research director, have recently been made available. Although no major publication has been prepared from these materials, some of the documents have gained

individual circulation (e.g. Kazue Kawaii's "Three Roads and None Easy"), and the discussion of the "Findings Conference" at Stanford were published separately in a booklet in 1925 entitled *Tentative Findings of the Survey of Race Relations*. Incidentally, the documents of 1924-25 offer an interesting contrast with similar materials for today.

I began gathering material for this study, in the summer of 1934, in the Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles areas, where Japanese-American settlement was concentrated prior to the evacuation. Residence in all three Pacific states, and several trips to Japan gave me wide opportunities for study at first hand. At the University of Washington it was my privilege to become acquainted with a varied group of Americans of Japanese ancestry, and I am indebted to many *issei* and *nisei* students for their interest and the time they gave in explaining their experience and points of view. Special acknowledgment should be made to my wife, Vera C. LaViolette, who conducted a great number of interviews. We were singularly fortunate to have had the help of Miss Michiko Yasumura who introduced us to many fine and little-known aspects of Japanese life, and to have been closely associated with Mr. Shotaro Miyamoto while he was preparing his dissertation on the *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*. Through his generous assistance the information gathered in many valuable Japanese-language interviews was made available. Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to my former colleagues, Professor Jesse F. Steiner and Mr. John McGilvrey Maki for their help in the early stages of preparation of this manuscript.

Montreal, Quebec
August, 1945.

FORREST E. LAVIOLETTE.

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Chapter I

THE TWO GENERATIONS

EVERY person of Japanese ancestry living in the United States and its possessions was faced with the prospect of an intense and prolonged crisis after the opening of hostilities with Japan. Those born in Japan are, technically, enemy aliens, although most of them have lived here continuously for more than twenty years. Those born here are not far enough removed from the earlier struggles of their parents to have lived down distrust and prejudice, and they have not yet achieved a position in the economic system commanding enough influence to withstand the attacks of interests which have been waiting to dispossess and disenfranchise them at a favourable moment.

The evacuation of Japanese from the Pacific Coast defence zones, though dictated in the first instance by military necessity, was but the climax of a series of anti-Japanese manifestations designed to put the Japanese "where they belong." The relocation programme had its rationale and origins in world events that long antedate the blow at Pearl Harbour.[1] Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931, the Lytton Commission reports finding her guilty of aggression, Henry L. Stimson's policy of non-recognition of "any situation, treaty or arrangement brought about by means contrary to the Kellogg-Briand Pact," the opening of the second war with China in 1937, the popular revulsion in the United States against this brutal aggression, and the ready sympathy of the American people for the Chinese victims, all had immediate and far-reaching repercussions in every Japanese community and home in this country.[2]

[1]Oakie, "Japanese in the United States," *Far Eastern Survey*, January 26, 1942; Fisher, "Japanese Evacuation from the Pacific Coast," *Far Eastern Survey*, June 29, 1942; Inglehart, "Citizens behind Barbed Wire," *The Nation*, June 6, 1942.

[2]For detailed consideration of such trends see "American-born Japanese and the World Crisis," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, November, 1941, by the author. Some material dealing with this is found in Chapter VII of this present study.

The forced mass migration in the spring of 1942 was a major setback to the Japanese in their long struggle for an accepted position in American society. No other event since the passage of the National Immigration Act of 1924, which stopped immigration of all Japanese settlers, has had so devastating an effect upon the aspirations of individuals of Japanese ancestry to establish themselves here. In the light of the history of this long and bitter struggle for an acceptable socio-economic status, loyal Americans of Japanese ancestry have become acutely fearful that they will not be able to re-establish themselves after the war.[3]

To understand the present position of the American-born Japanese, it is necessary to remember that the usual problems of their parents — the task of earning a living, making a home, and adjusting to a new social milieu — have been vastly complicated by this continuing struggle for general acceptance as a racial group in the Caucasian New World. Furthermore not only has it been an inter-racial problem, like that of the Negro, but it has also been international, inextricably entangled in the web of relations between the United States and Japan. Japanese immigrants and their American-born children have encountered race hatred at every turn: they have had to contend with local school segregation and with economic repression and discrimination; with efforts to deny the right to immigrate, become naturalized, and hold land; and with the intensfication of this hatred and discrimination occasioned by the outbreak of the Pacific war.

Before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, the United States was looked upon as a friendly nation by the people of Japan, in spite of the California disturbances directed against the influx of Japanese immigrants. After that war, public feeling in the United States began to change from friendliness to distrust and suspicion, and in 1906 the first formal step designed to restrict the Japanese in this country was taken by the San Francisco School Board,

[3]An excellent review of the historical development of the conflict regarding evacuation is to be found in Tolan (chairman), *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones.* See also Miyamoto, "Immigrants and Citizens of Japanese Origin." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* September, 1942, pp. 107-13.

which attempted to segregate Oriental students. This attempt did not succeed largely because of the Japanese Government's protests and President Theodore Roosevelt's patient but firm intervention, but it was the forerunner of more serious problems for the Japanese.

Historically the first issue around which widespread agitation became organized was a demand to limit immigration. By the early years of the century this demand to limit numbers had grown to demands for complete exclusion, and was occasionally accompanied by physical attacks on Japanese and their properties. As a sequel to the settlement of the San Francisco School Board order, President Roosevelt concluded in 1907 the Gentlemen's Agreement by which the Imperial Japanese Government agreed to restrict the departure of coolie labourers from Japan, while the United States on its part promised to make no discrimination against the Japanese. The chief effects of the agreement were to change the type of immigrant admitted and to relieve the diplomatic tension, but it did not end immigration or check the agitation against the Japanese.

According to E. K. Strong, some 30,824 immigrant aliens were admitted from Japan in 1906-7.[4] During the next decade the number coming in annually dropped to 10,000. In the war years, 1917-18, slightly more than 20,000 were admitted. From 1919 to 1924 the number steadily declined, yet Californians continued to press for permanent and total exclusion and were satisfied only when the National Immigration Act of 1924 was passed. From that date no Japanese have been permitted to enter the United States lawfully as settlers.

Side by side with the agitation for limitation and then exclusion of Japanese immigrants, demands arose, during the first decade of the century, for legislation to restrict Japanese control of land. California enacted the first anti-alien landownership law in 1913, but successive legislatures of that state had been importuned for many years to pass upon this issue. It took some time, however, to stir up popular support and to perfect the drafted measure, since it was necessary to avoid negating the legal rights of Japanese as

[4]Strong, *Second-Generation Japanese Problem*, table 38, p. 276.

established by treaty with Japan.[5] When the landownership law was enacted and signed by the Governor in 1913, it was over the protest of the Japanese Ambassador, against the earnest request of the President that the bill be made less objectionable, and despite an urgent message from Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan to California to stay the passage of the law. In 1920, and again in 1923, the law was revised and each time it was made more severe. The movement toward restriction of landholding developed in other states, but the Japanese were not by this means driven from agricultural pursuits in the United States.

The landownership laws were framed to interdict tenure by "aliens ineligible to citizenship," and it was only on this narrow legal ground that they could be held constitutional. It is not possible to restrict the civil or political rights of naturalized citizens beyond the limits provided in the constitution, but certain constitutional privileges and immunities may be denied those incapable of citizenship. This basic issue of citizenship — the inability to become naturalized — has never received the publicity which the other issues growing out of the racial problem have claimed, yet it has been the very root of the entire problem. The land laws were circumvented and economic adjustments made by the Japanese immigrants, but citizenship disabilities were insuperable. Those who came here enthusiastically seeking an abundant life, to settle and to make homes, found the inability to become citizens the most serious and insulting handicap. They struggled against the inferior status accorded them by bringing a test case before the courts of Hawaii, and carrying it up to the Supreme Court of the United States. In upholding the lower courts, the Supreme Court declared in 1922 that "members of the Mongolian or Malay race" could not be naturalized. To the Japanese that decision became the crowning symbol of their defeat.[6] Americans thought little of the

[5]Professor Ichihashi reports that the first measure was introduced in 1907. In the 1909 session there were seventeen anti-Japanese measures presented, including bills regulating control of land. See *Japanese in the United States*, chap. XVII, "The Alien Land Laws and Other Discriminatory Laws of California."

[6]For court cases dealing with the problems of constitutional rights of the Japanese, see *Documental History of Law Cases affecting the Japanese in the United States, 1916-24*.

matter, for Congress in overhauling the naturalization laws in 1906 had formally affirmed the same anti-Oriental mores.

The land laws between 1913 and 1923, the decision against citizenship in 1922, and the exclusion of new immigrants in 1924 ended the struggle of Japanese immigrants for equal or improved social status. Thereafter they accepted their circumscribed position and turned from their own problems to a concern for the future of their American-born children, who are American citizens by virtue of their birth. Residents in a hostile world, extremely family-conscious, citizens of an expanding national state of whose long cultural tradition they were keenly aware, the Japanese immigrants naturally set great store by the prospects of their children, who were maturing in increasing numbers. From 1924 to 1941 Japanese communities and families became increasingly preoccupied with the "second-generation problem." This trend is being reversed by increasing age and the outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific and the subsequent evacuation, and now the second generation is becoming preoccupied with the care of the parents, elders, and families. This study deals only with the first of these trends, since it is too early yet to define or describe the new problem.

The United States census of 1930 revealed a distinct cleavage in our population of Japanese ancestry. It showed the existence of two main age groups: an older one consisting of the foreign-born Japanese, and a younger one made up of native-born children of the original immigrants. Between the two principal age groups was a very small third one, representing the immigrants who came from Japan at a very early age. This pattern of age groups is indicative of the profound cultural differences within Japanese communities and families in America.[7]

The Japanese, recognizing the cleavage, have given names to these groups and the variations within them. Those born in Japan who emigrated at an age when they could independently make their way in the world are known as *dai issei*, meaning "first generation." The offspring of the immigrant group, who are American-

[7]In his *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, p. 96, Miyamoto demonstrates this cleavage by a pyramid showing age, sex, and nativity.

born and American-reared, are called *dai nisei*, or "second generation."[8] The children of the latter are called *dai sansei*, meaning "third generation." In English it is proper to omit *dai*, an adjectival form, and to use only the terms *issei*, *nisei*, and *sansei*. (These terms are either singular or plural as there is no plural form in Japanese.)

The fact of birth in Japan is not the most significant aspect of the *issei*. It is more important that he lived there long enough to acquire the imprint of Japanese personality. An *issei*, though he may have lived in America for many years and have changed noticeably through attendance at the public schools or through intermarriage, still retains personality traits, attitudes, and ideals essentially Japanese in character. Indeed, because of his isolation from the main body of the rapidly changing culture of his native land, an *issei* is often more representative of the older rather than of the present-day Japan. Thus, some *nisei* regard their parents as "behind the times" as compared with the people of today's Japan.[9]

Some *nisei* regard the *issei* as more than bearers of the traditional, Old-World culture. To them the *issei* are also the hardy pioneers who left home and ventured to strange shores to enter into social contact with the hitherto unknown Occidentals.[10] America had been represented to these first-comers as a land of wealth, economic opportunity, and bounty, friendliness, and democracy. The extreme cultural differences and the pressure of economic competition between the Japanese pioneers and their American hosts, however, frequently caused the immigrants to suffer from misunderstanding, rudeness, overt violence, discrimination, and, finally, forced exclusion. Describing these experiences, a *nisei* newspaper declared that

[8]*Nisei* is pronounced in Japanese as *nee-say*; *issei* is pronounced as *ee-say*.

[9]In 1935 Dr. Ichihashi of Stanford University told the writer that a scholar wishing to study the Japanese language of 1900 or to observe the folkways of that period should study some of the more remote Japanese farming communities of California. Many *nisei* returning from a visit to Japan express their surprise at finding the country "up and coming," having been led to expect no such modernity from their parents' behaviour and customs.

[10]The older group of American-born children appear to be much more aware of this "pioneering" than the younger group. Some of the older ones, therefore, speak of "two crops" of *nisei*, the older and younger, about 1915 as year of birth being the accepted dividing line between the two.

"those were the days of bloody struggle and sacrifice."[11] The term *issei*, therefore, has come to embrace those older immigrants who were mature Japanese when they disembarked, and who, despite privation, established themselves in America — first a friendly, later a hostile country — sufficiently well to rear their children in some degree of security.

Among the *issei* there are some who came to America as adolescents or young children. These often differ very little in outlook from the *nisei*, but they were unable to become citizens because of the naturalization laws. In the main they fall into two groups. The first, called *hansei*, literally, "half-first generation," consists of those who were between fifteen and eighteen years of age when brought to America. They stand midway between *issei* and *nisei* in age and degree of Americanization, but their basic personality traits tend to be more Japanese than American. The second group, known simply as "Japan-born *nisei*," includes those who arrived here during infancy or early childhood and were educated entirely in the American public schools. These people, like the *hansei*, are not American citizens, but they are Americans in personality and are ordinarily treated and talked about as if they were *nisei*, though the fact of their birth in Japan is constantly remembered.

Of the generation born in America, some were educated here and others in Japan. The term *nisei*, strictly speaking, is applied only to those who have received their education in this country, but a short visit to Japan, or even a short period of schooling there, would not affect the status of a *nisei*, provided the stay in Japan did not result in his assimilation into Japanese life. Though there are variations within the group, the *nisei* are, in general, those American-born Japanese whose behaviour and attitudes are most different from the immigrant generation and who have been least affected by their Japanese social heritage.

In early immigrant days the birth of children added considerably to parental difficulties, and such problems were frequently solved

[11]Many of the *Survey of Race Relations* documents which refer to the "first experiences" of immigrants give pointed evidence of the privations and disillusionment suffered.

by sending the young to Japan. The name *kibei* has been given such American-born but Japan-reared offspring.[12] A variety of motives induced parents to send the children back to the homeland. A number were too poor to give them adequate care and attention in this country, or else found children to be an economic handicap. Some simply wished their children to receive a basic Japanese education. Others who planned to return to Japan or were undecided whether to repatriate sent their children home at an early age so that they might become "good" Japanese before Americanization had too far affected them.

In the Japanese-American vocabulary there are other terms descriptive of gradations and deviations within the *issei, nisei,* and *kibei* groups, but the two most commonly employed are "Japanesy" and "Americanized."[13] Sometimes these contain an evaluative judgment, as when a person is described as "too Americanized," implying that although it is permissible for a *nisei* to become Americanized, excessive Americanization may jeopardize his standing within the community or social circle. Generally speaking, however, the terms refer to the degree to which the types of personality within the community represent the central Japanese characteristics or degrees of assimilation into the American social system. The personality which is most Japanese is, of course, the *issei;* next nearest the traditional heritage is the *kibei,* depending, however, upon how long ago the *kibei* returned to America and the nature of his experience here in terms of contact with American life. Most remote from the basic Japanese is the *nisei.*

All these terms were created by the immigrants after their arrival in America, as variations in social experience made themselves felt in Japanese community life. The extreme contrast between Oriental and Western civilizations could not but give the *issei* and *nisei* different cultural perspectives through which to interpret their experiences. This accounts for the different emphasis placed by the

[12]The full term is *kibei nikkei,* literally "second generation returned to North America." In English only *kibei* is used. It applies to those who return to America, usually between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Occasionally it is used as *kibei nisei,* as for example, in *Nisei Tragedy* by Niisato.

[13]Sometimes the term "Westernized" is used instead of "Americanized."

two groups on the importance of family life,[14] the relations of the sexes, and those minutiae of correct conduct which the Japanese call "moral behaviour." The differing philosophies of life also explain the degrees in which the two groups interest themselves in certain community activities.

The present-day position of the *nisei* is a difficult one. By virtue of their American education and training they discern great differences between themselves and the first generation, yet they find, as they mature, that they cannot identify themselves with the broader community of American citizens of European descent. It is the adjustment problem of the so-called "hyphenated American." The realization that "though an American-born I remain a Japanese" comes to some naturally and easily, to others only after intense psychic conflict. Some of the factors compelling that realization are the more obvious stigmata of social inferiority, but others are so subtle as to remain unperceived without considerable investigation.

The purpose of the present study is to describe the social context of the term *nisei* as it has developed between the cessation of immigration in 1924 and Pearl Harbour in 1941, with the chief emphasis placed upon Japanese family and community life.

[14]Many mores of Japanese family life have been codified in the Civil Code. See deBecker, *Annotated Civil Code of Japan,* vol. III. The projection of family ideals into industry has been pointed out by Ayusawa, *Industrial Conditions and Labor Legislation in Japan.*

Chapter II

THE JAPANESE FAMILY

Family Settlement

THE history of Japanese settlement in continental United States may be divided into three phases. For convenience these may be called the Frontier Period (1870-1908), the Family-Building Period (1908-20), and the Second-Generation Period (1921-41). The divisions are based roughly on the characteristics of the various immigrant groups and the changing attitudes of the Japanese who have come to this country since 1870. Since our main concern is with the third period, which began when the struggle for improved social status shifted from the first to the second generation and ended with the present war and evacuation, the earlier periods will be considered only in so far as they serve to clarify various factors in the social background of the second generation.

The Frontier Period was characterized by the coming of three distinct types of immigrants, and by the development of a first rudimentary community organization. The initial group of immigrants consisted of "school boys"[1] and political adventurers. The school boys came to this country to learn the English language and to study Occidental culture. The political adventurers, according to Yokoyama, had been failures at home, and came to America to carry on journalistic work frowned on by the Japanese government. They published mimeographed newspapers and magazines containing political articles, some of which were so outspokenly critical in their expression that the Japanese government prohibited their circulation in the homeland on the ground that they were "inimical to the public welfare." Publication of these newspapers, however, marked the beginning of the Japanese vernacular press in America,

[1]The term "school boy" is still used even by the *nisei* to indicate male students in university or high school who work their way through school as domestics. The term "school girl" is also used.

and must be considered as the first attempts to mould and direct public opinion among the Japanese immigrants in this country.[2]

The second group of immigrants in this period were the settlers who looked upon America as a place of permanent abode. Last of all came the contract labourers, skilled and unskilled, imported by employers to work in the expanding West.

It is impossible to determine the number of immigrants belonging to each group during the Frontier Period. In 1870, there were 55 Japanese in the United States, according to official American figures; by 1890 there were 2,039. Ichihashi believes that most of these immigrants intended to stay here permanently. Between 1890 and 1900 the number of Japanese in the United States rose to 24,326, an increase attributable in large part to the stream of contract workers which had begun to pour into the country. From 1890 to 1907, when the Gentlemen's Agreement changed the character of the immigration, contract labourers, who, presumably, expected to stay only until their contracts expired, composed the bulk of Japanese immigration into this country.[3]

The establishment of the Japanese Deliberative Council in San Francisco in 1900 marked the emergence of community organization among the immigrants. This council, which later became the well-known Japanese Association of America,[4] was created to meet the recognized need for an organization which would help the immigrants meet their numerous problems. The increased rate of new arrivals from Japan, the expiration of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the subsequent agitation for exclusion of all Orientals, and the arrival in San Francisco of a Japanese immigrant ship allegedly carrying cases of bubonic plague, all contributed to the crisis which gave rise to the demand for the exclusion of Japanese immigrants. Individual Japanese could not defend themselves

[2]Yokoyama, "Japanese Associations in America" (unpublished Master's Thesis).

[3]For a detailed discussion of this period see Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, pp. 65ff. Also see McWilliams, *Factories in the Field*, chap. VII, "Our Oriental Agriculture," pp. 103-33.

[4]See Yokoyama, "Japanese Associations in America" (unpublished Master's Thesis) also, Meyer, "State and Federal Aspects of the Japanese Problem in California" (unpublished Master's Thesis).

against such agitation. Later experiences, such as the San Francisco school situation in 1907, demonstrated to the immigrants the ineffectiveness of appeals to their distant homeland in solving their problems. Consequently, local community organization became increasingly important as the problems of adjustment became more numerous and complex.

The years 1907 and 1908 marked the end of the Frontier Period and the beginning of the Family-Building Period. The Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907 stopped all peasant immigration. In the following year Japanese women began to arrive as picture-brides and the process of establishing families started in earnest, continuing until 1920 when the Japanese government ceased issuing passports to picture-brides.

In Japanese society, it is inconceivable that an adult male of marrying age remain wifeless. In America there was further reason for taking a wife: a helpmate could assist her man in establishing himself in the new land, and could be relied on to make economic contribution to the household. The demand for wives therefore became acute among the immigrants.[5]

Families were established in several ways. The assumption that all women came as picture-brides is not accurate, for a number of the immigrant men were already married when they arrived and sent for their wives as soon as they had set up a home. Some of these families were childless at the time of the reunion in America, but others already had one child or more, so that if later children were born in America, the same family contained children American in personality, but remaining Japanese citizens, as well as offspring native in every sense of the word.[6]

[5]In 1900 the foreign-born women represented 3.62 per cent. of the total foreign-born Japanese population in the United States. This proportion increased to 10.2 per cent. in 1910, to 29.66 per cent. in 1920, and to 34.88 per cent. in 1930. Calculated from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population*, vol. II, p. 500.

[6]This was true in five cases investigated by the writer. In one, the eldest son is Japan-born, cannot hold title to property, and consequently cannot fill the traditional role of the eldest son. Yet in many ways he seems more American than his younger brother, who was born in America and has title to the farm land.

A favourite way for single men to get a wife was to return to Japan to have a marriage arranged. Often groups of wife-seekers travelled together in what was called "a study tour," but was in point of fact a sight-seeing or inspection tour. Sometimes two or three trips might be made before a man returned with a wife.[7]

But the most commonly used scheme for getting a wife was the picture-bride plan, or choice of a spouse which involved an exchange of photographs. Romantic attachment as a preface to wedlock was, and still is, deemed of no great significance in Japan. The arranged marriage is customary, and marriage-making is the concern of families rather than individuals. An immigrant therefore usually wrote to relatives in Japan to arrange a marriage. If the couple had been reared together in the same village, it was easy to find a go-between who could make the necessary arrangements for marriage and the bride's trip to America. In many instances the principals were unknown to one another, and the union was arranged purely on the basis of the couple's suitability to be helpmates in the struggles of the new world.

The traditional meeting of the couple after betrothal was of course omitted, but otherwise the picture-bride scheme conformed almost exactly to the marriage-making tradition of Japan. In this way it was possible for every male immigrant to take to himself a wife after becoming established in America, and thousands of marriages were, indeed, made in this way.[8] There is apparently no opprobrium attached to having been a picture-bride, since many women make no secret of the fact, and their sons and daughters freely discuss this mode of getting a wife.[9]

[7]Tours were unusually popular in the early days. The Japanese like group travel, and this was until recently a common mode of travel to Japan even for the second generation. Groups aroused more public attention and in this way often obtained concessions which the individual tourist could not secure.

[8]Under a Kobe, Japan, date-line, the *New World Sun*, April 19, 1936, reported a party of seventy women leaving to become brides of young Japanese pioneers in Brazil. It is probable that these women were picture-brides.

[9]Some women were brought here as prostitutes. Many left that mode of life as soon as they could, married and settled down, in some instances becoming the wives of respected citizens. If the Japanese know definitely that a woman did not come as a prostitute, there is no hesitation in talking about the picture-bride plan, but if there is any doubt as to her earlier status, the subject is not discussed in her presence.

Although the picture-bride plan followed rather closely the traditional custom of marriage-making, and although many well-organized families resulted from the system it nevertheless did give rise to much confusion and disruption.[10] One of the pioneers described the troubles of this scheme in these words:

> There were many picture-bride marriages at the time that I came to this country. The system created a lot of trouble. Many of the women who wanted to get married were those who didn't seem to be able to get married in any other way, and many were not of the most desirable type for marriage. It is said that girls with great big ugly moles on their chins would hide the lower part of their faces with fans, and in that way give the impression of looking very well. Old men would have their pictures touched up so that they looked years younger. Those were the days when photographers were doing a fine business. Men would put on their best collar-shirts and Sunday suits to have their pictures taken, when in reality they put on such clothes only once in several months.
>
> In order to carry through a marriage, however, it was necessary to get the consent of the Consulate, and frequently when a couple got there, the girl refused to marry the man. She would then run off with someone else whom she thought she preferred, and all of this created a great deal of trouble. There were many cases where the wife left her husband for another man, and the latter would then repay the first husband her passage from Japan and a small additional sum as compensation for the loss of his wife. Many a couple ran away to Portland, for in those days there wasn't a great deal of movement as far south as California.[11]

The closely integrated character of Japanese communities and the interchange of experiences among their members increased the likelihood that knowledge of tension and discord between spouses would come to the attention of older members of the second genera-

[10]The American stereotype of Japanese family life represents all members of the family living together quietly and harmoniously. This is due at least partly to the fact that Japanese family life is so organized that only the tranquil aspects come to the attention of the outsider. If the Japanese family has its periods of harmony, it also has periods of friction, bickering, back-biting, and perhaps even of violence. The organized social and cultural techniques for the adjustment of poor matches which existed in Japan were not at hand in America, and the conditions of immigrant life, therefore, imposed on the spouses a necessity for maintaining a marriage, even if it proved unsatisfactory.

[11]From a document made available by Shotaro Miyamoto. This authority calls attention to the marriage bureaus existing at the time, but declares them to have been failures. When one understands Japanese attitudes, this is not surprising. If a Japanese wants a wife, it usually does not occur to him to depend upon a bureau — a friend or a family member is the one he seeks out to arrange a marriage.

tion. A second-generation wife, living in a rural lumber camp area observed:

A great many of the *issei* women have a handy man around the house to do little things for them, things which their husbands won't do. They buy them little things, too. This of course breaks over into promiscuity. The husbands know what is going on but they can't do anything about it. When the wives came here, they were not used to having so many men around and they hadn't had any fun in Japan. Hence they take advantage of the situation. This place has a bad name for that sort of thing but it goes on without causing too much trouble. We *nisei* have no handy men around the house, and so they kid us about getting one. Then, too, many of the men conveniently have their wives in Japan, but I guess it's that way because the boss is that way. In Japan the boss would also be the moral guardian.

Many of the picture-brides had to live in the United States under conditions which were either far below what they were accustomed to in Japan, or far different from what they had been led to expect in the new land. Many came from lower middle-class families and were accustomed to servants, clean houses, and maids to care for the children. One informant asserted that if she and her family were to return to Japan, they would have servants. A young woman told a field worker who gathered materials for the *Survey of Race Relations*:

For some time I worked in the office of a Japanese attorney where I learned something about divorce cases. A number of women came from Japan and were taken out to the farms where they had to work hard in the fields. This prevented them from giving their children the care they needed. In Japan the women were accustomed to obeying, but isolation on these farms, where they do not have opportunity of mingling with others, makes them tire of the life, and they turn to the divorce courts. Our office also handled cases of picture-bride marriages, where the husband and wife were not adapted to each other.[12]

Such conditions were part of the heritage of the American-born Japanese children. The childhood experiences of neglect, economic privation, and social inferiority had a subtle but potent influence on the personality development of the *nisei*.

In the problem of unsatisfactory mating, the age-differential between spouses also played a significant part in many families. The Japanese point out that a husband should be five to seven years older than his wife, since a woman matures socially much

[12] *Survey of Race Relations*, Document no. 81.

earlier than the man and does not want an immature husband. But too great a difference in age raises obvious problems, and apparently there are numerous cases of families in which the husband is much older than his wife. In one well-integrated family, the father was seventy years old while his eldest child, a son, had just passed sixteen. This family with three children will find it hard to make its way when the father is no longer able to provide.

One observer has summarized the problems of the Family-Building Period of Japanese immigration as follows: (1) the exploitation of the picture-bride system and its consequent evil effects; (2) the abuse by the young wives of their new-found freedom and unaccustomed advantages; (3) the disproportion of men to women; and (4) imitation of the American custom of resort to the divorce courts to end unsatisfactory marriages.[13] Field data substantiate the first three observations, but there is no conclusive evidence as to the fourth. It is undoubtedly true that Japanese women secured divorces, which they could not easily do at home, but a recent investigation does not bear out the view that recourse to the legal remedy was widespread during this period: "We found 277 divorces in King County in the period between 1890 and May 15, 1938. The great majority of decrees were granted to women, only 48 plaintiffs being males. Between 1890 and 1910, 7 divorces were granted, whereas during the next 20 years, 1910-30, there were 230 divorces."[14]

To the problems of the Family-Building Period enumerated above should be added, the absence of primary family control, such as that by the elders of the family, and the general conditions of immigrant life which do not conduce to domestic stability.

Traditional Organization

"Get yourself some land and a wife and settle down." That, according to one of the Japanese pioneers, was the prevailing advice during the Family-Building Period. In their effort to

[13] *Ibid.*, Document no. 76.

[14] Echigoshima and Yorozu, "Divorces among the Japanese in King County" (unpublished Research Paper).

establish themselves in America, the Japanese immigrants sought to reconstruct here the community and family life of Japan of the 1890's.

There is no single systematic treatise in the English language dealing with the evolution, structure, or function of the Japanese family system.[15] From scattered references, however, it is possible to piece together a general understanding of its organization and the part it plays in the development of the personality of the American-born children.

In the Japanese family system the patriarch, or head of the house, as he is known, bears recognized duties and responsibilities: to manage family property and provide a future head of the house, furnish support for all members of the household, arrange for marriages, and provide education and guidance for junior members. In the fulfilment of these obligations he is assisted by his retired parents and by the family council of adult males and close relatives. The head of the house is the living symbol of the past and the functioning representative of the dead. Around him are organized the observances, obligations, and attitudes of ancestor worship. He is the final source of authority.

Not only is there male dominance within the family sphere but masculinity in general enjoys privileges. As a rule, women occupy a very inferior position, though the privileges accorded men and the restrictions upon women are not the same under all conditions. The functions of the wife generally are to provide a male heir, to be a servant to her mother-in-law, husband, and children in every respect, to manage the household, to augment the family income, and to serve her husband as an object for domination and emotional release.[16]

In Japanese society, marriage is defined in terms of the pro-

[15]For systematic works in Japanese see Toda, *Kazoku no Kenkyu* (Studies in the Family); *Kazoku to Konin* (Family and Marriage); *Kazoku Koosei* (Structure of the Family).

[16]For a brief statement of the status of women in Japan as it developed during feudalism and carried over into modern Japan, see Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, pp. 365-76. This article includes the *Onna Daigaku*, "The Greater Learning for Women," which represents in part a codification of the moral norms relating the two sexes as well as those of ideal womanhood.

creation and rearing of children for the family line. The success of marriage is measured by the number of offspring resulting from the union, and their upbringing as "good Japanese," that is, as family-bound, hard-working, loyal citizens.

In his family life, the Japanese male is supposed to be stoical and emotionally controlled at all times, an ideal that is often achieved. The woman also is supposed to exercise emotional control in situations of great stress, but it is considered permissible for her to giggle a great deal and to be very talkative under certain circumstances. The Japanese wife is a great worrier, with a decided tendency toward hysteria, traceable, no doubt, to the complete domination of her personality by the male, and to the effect of the husband's extra-marital relations with concubines and geishas, of which she is often aware.[17] She frequently develops exaggerated devotion to her children as a means of emotional compensation. But it should not be assumed from the foregoing that there are no "hen-pecked" husbands in Japan.

Children are much desired in Japan, but because of the feudal tradition and ancestor worship, male children are prized far more than females. This attitude has been carried over to America, as indicated in the statements by *nisei*:

> Japanese parents look down on girls and do the most for the boys. Some of them have outgrown this idea, but others haven't. As some of the children grow up, they outgrow it too. But there isn't any use arguing about it at home.
>
> * * *
>
> My mother went over to congratulate Mrs. W. on her having a new baby. When she spoke to Mrs. W., the reply was, "Why, that's nothing to be congratulated about. It wasn't a boy."

These parental attitudes have naturally affected the personality

[17]John Embree in *Suye Mura*, pp. 175-6, states that "the most frequent difficulty of women involves not their social but their sexual lives. Many cases of insanity and most of *hysteri* are clearly due to sexual maladjustments. The term *hysteri* is applied to all women who are known for their instability, nervousness, or promiscuity . . . The society is one where a girl has no say in the matter of marriage and must take whatever her husband may give her of sexual satisfaction. A man may have as many affairs as he pleases, and his wife cannot object. He may visit the *geisha* restaurants of Menda and not come home until all hours, and she has no recourse but to submit. Furthermore, she has no similar rights . . . "

of the American-born children, as the following statement of a young woman suggests:

I talk a lot, am very impulsive and hot tempered, and show emotion whenever I feel like it, more like an American than a Japanese. And when I feel emotional, I don't just wear a blank face. The other girls say I'm queer; they say I like to talk about funny things — about fishing, automobiles, and evolution, instead of about clothes. When I get mad I do awful things. I drive the car so fast that I just about break my neck. I simply am not a Japanese girl. Mother wonders where I came from. My manners aren't Japanese.

The mother of this informant tends to be hysterical, in part because of her anxiety at having no sons. The daughter's conduct is doubtless the result of her effort to avoid the male role which the mother seeks to force upon her. The situation is an extreme outcome of the time-honoured Japanese emphasis upon having a male heir, a tradition which still persists to some extent in America, though it is undergoing change.[18]

Child Training

One of the most conspicuous and important features of Japanese family life is that each member's position in the family, and the family's position in the community, is defined in express and minute detail. Naturally, such a process goes on to some extent in all families, but among the Japanese it is not merely implied but is defined explicitly. Furthermore, exact definitions of position in

[18]For a statement of how the Japanese family in Hawaii is changing, see Masuoka, "Structure of the Japanese Family in Hawaii," *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1940, pp. 168-78. An abstract of the article follows: "The structure of the Japanese family in Hawaii is becoming increasingly simple. The size is becoming smaller, and the composition is becoming more and more restricted to those members immediately related to the heads of families. The factors which appear to be responsible for this trend are the increase in the mobility of the people, the rise of the standard of living, and the deliberate check on the number of children per family. The change in the family structure affects the attitudes of the people toward their family tradition and modifies to a considerable extent the nature of social interaction among the members" (quoted by permission of University of Chicago Press). Similar changes are also in progress and, perhaps, are even more highly developed among continental Japanese families.

Mr. Masuoka submits an interesting manuscript document which shows that in some cases emigration was a means of getting away from family dominance, especially for the women who sought "escape" from her mother-in-law. In the document in question the wife's mother urges the young wife to go to Hawaii so as to avoid "many worries."

the family are likely to include a wide range of behaviour. The child, through unremitting supervision and careful control, is bound very closely to his family, and as a consequence is more dependent upon it than are most white Americans.

This strict parental domination of the young, the techniques of punishment employed, the people held up for emulation, the importance attached to family honour in following the precepts of proper conduct, and the great care taken to fit the child into the collective economic activities of the family, all contribute toward the moulding of a personality which respects and unquestioningly submits to the parents, and is ultra-sensitive to the demands of family loyalty and the minutest social proprieties.

Although some features of Japanese family life have undergone change in America,[19] the least affected is the unusual degree of dominance and control of the parents over children. The Japanese are keenly aware of this aspect of their family system.

> The reason we have so little delinquency among the Japanese is, I think, that the Japanese parents are more concerned about their children than about anything else. . . . The Japanese have been taught from their very earliest childhood that the first responsibility of parents is towards their children, and the idea is so deeply rooted in their minds that it is one of the most significant aspects of the Japanese family system. The entire control of the Japanese parents over their children is the result of their constantly pointing out to them that they must become great, and that they must never do anything to stain the family name. The parents, of course, feel deeply their responsibility, but in turn the children naturally come to feel responsibility to their parents. Japanese children reason that since their parents gave them life, and since they could not even have been born except for them, they are obliged to look after their parents to the end. This is the thing that binds Japanese children to their family.

The Occidental must, however, be careful in drawing conclusions about Japanese parents from such statements as that "the Japanese parent is more concerned about his children than anything else." It is not exactly the same kind of concern as Occidentals have. It is a constant fear that the child may ruin the family name, may not be a "good Japanese," or may not acquire the proper manners and emotional control. It is not so much a concern for the indi-

[19] Religious training is discussed briefly in Chapter III. The role of religion in American-Japanese life is probably undergoing considerable change at the present time.

vidual happiness of the child, as an anxiety that it fit into the prescribed ways of thinking and acting. Things which Occidental parents would judge to be "bad" for the child, are done by Japanese parents in keeping with a rigid and revered tradition. Such control of the child flows from a deep sense of responsibility for the children by the parents, and correspondingly engenders a profound respect for the parents by the offspring. It does not always bring ideal results, but the Japanese say that when the parents do not exercise such control their children do not turn out well.[20]

The effect of punishment and discipline indicates how close such control is. In one family, while the children were picking berries toward the end of the season when they were scarce and expensive, the youngest son playfully jumped on the back of his sister, upsetting the carrier and crushing some of the crop. His father punished him by sending him home. Commenting on the incident long afterward, the children asserted it was a most shameful affair, one of the most grievous wrongs they had done. "We don't have to be punished," they added, "as we always mind father when he tells us the first time."

A *nisei* lad, indicating that he himself would not rebel against parental authority by repeating an offence after having been punished for it, said: "I know a white boy who would lie down in the middle of the road when he saw a car, making it stop. His father put him to bed without any supper, but the boy did the same thing the next day."

Another informant gave this account:

> Both father and mother impress upon us that they love us so much that they want us to be good and to grow up to be honourable people. Father is very exacting. When he says to do something, he wants it done that very minute. If you say, "I'll do it in a minute," he says, "You are not to talk back to me. Do it right now."
>
> Father spanked me when I was little, sent me to the closet, made me sit in the basement, or denied me some pleasure. I feel that both parents are strict disciplinarians, and they back each other up. When father says something, he

[20]One informant said, however, that when the parents were too strict and dominating, the children turned out to be "queer." What she meant by this was not clear, but it was suspected that she was referring to sexual impotence, and either was reticent or lacked the vocabulary adequate to describe it.

will add, "Ask your mother, and she will feel the same way." Mother does the same thing.

It is generally agreed that there is little possibility of discussion in parent-child relations. Affairs usually proceed in this manner:

I never did talk back to my father, and he never admonished me severely in any way. We always talked things over — things were more or less consultations rather than arguments or discussions. But if I disagreed with my father, it was fruitless to press the point. My father just would not see it my way. So, I never let disagreements become open. The only thing with which I did want to disagree openly was the question of accepting jobs.

In the Japanese family, there is apparently very little "reasoning" with a child, even after he is fifteen or sixteen years of age. The technique of parental control is essentially that of ordering and forbidding. In only one recorded case did the informant assert that "my parents taught me to reason." To fail to encourage the child to think for himself indicated, of course, that the child is to be completely dominated by the parents, that his sole duty is to obey their wishes. Such an attitude is consistent with the general principle of filial piety which permeates all Japanese thought, and with the notion of maintaining authority by absolute moral precepts. It stems from a wish to make the child conform to rigid norms, rather than to help him to develop his own individuality. As between old and young, the older person, having greater prestige, is invariably the superior, and the child is taught uncritical acceptance of things defined as "superior" by custom.

A traditional mode of punishment is the moxa treatment. A pinch of incense, placed at a nerve centre of the child's body, is ignited and permitted to burn slowly to the skin. Which nerve centre is chosen depends upon local superstition, folklore, or Japanese knowledge of anatomy. The *nisei* object to this painful mode of punishment, and one, a teacher, vividly described the burns on the bodies of the little children in his school. Such extreme punishments are, however, passing away.

In the Japanese family, as in other families, punishment and restraint often assume more subtle forms. Thus, control is often exercised by the oblique but barbed means of group ridicule and

laughter.[21] The Japanese who are a serious people have considerably refined this type of compulsion.

To compel compliance with the multifarious niceties of "good behaviour," control by gesture is extensively used:

Once at a party, I felt someone pinching me. It was my mother, and I knew immediately that I wasn't doing the right thing. Sometimes it is because I am using my left hand, other times because my ungainly legs are not folded properly. When distance is involved, glaring eyes from mother means "stop laughing so heartily," and glaring eyes plus a sort of point means "use your right hand." A slight shaking of the head slowly and inconspicuously from left to right means usually, "I want to see you when we reach home." A verbal gesture is also used that is a fast whisper as, "do keep quiet," "be gentle," "take care of the baby," "go call your father," "remember to thank the lady for the nice present," and "take some." This form of gesture is used only when there is company.[22]

Parents in their conversation will use current community happenings to impress upon the young the importance of some vital point of conduct. The person quoted above also contributed the following:

My parents talk about sex only when there is an appropriate example. For instance, when an unmarried girl in the community becomes pregnant there is always a lot of gossip. Mother discusses it when the children are around and says what a terrible disgrace and shame it is to have such ugly things said about one. She goes on to say how disappointed this girl's father and mother must be. Her brothers and sisters, father and mother will never be able to go to Japan again. And worse still, if a parent or some other member of the girl's family has recently died, this person, I am told, must weep beside some kind of stream in heaven or behind some bushes. Then mother ends in a grand finale by saying she would rather go to "Hades" than see her daughter in such a disgraceful state. My father brings in threats of physical punishment.[23]

The parent here was not using illegitimacy to instruct the offspring in problems of sex, but to make clear the social attitudes toward it, and thus to establish within the child further inhibitions

[21] "Perhaps the most unpleasant experiences I've had in the way of discipline are in being ridiculed by my family. Taking a slice of family life with the element of ridicule in it: Mother: 'Don't tread so heavily.' Eldest brother: 'The house reminds me of a zoo when you walk. You know, the elephant.' (Laughs from other members of the family)." From "A Japanese Family in Rural Hawaii," by Yoshizawa, *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. III, p. 60.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[23] *Ibid.* With respect to the status of the illegitimate child in Japan, see Embree, *Suye Mura*, pp. 182, 195.

based upon fear. Such fears are almost always associated directly with the family honour. Inhibitions against the commission of improprieties are developed in this way in all phases of Japanese life. Yoshizawa has indicated, in the preceding quotations, to what extent the least of these improprieties — laughing too heartily or sitting incorrectly — are kept under constant surveillance, and so restrained.

In view of the wide range of activities embraced in the Japanese definition of moral behaviour, parents are ever alert in judging the conduct of their children. An informant previously quoted referred to the fact that Japanese parents are always urging their children to be "great." This "greatness" does not connote wealth or position. It indicates, rather, the parents' desire that their children be looked upon as moral leaders within the community, that they serve as models of rectitude which younger children may emulate. Sometimes the parental notion of what is "great" or the approach to "greatness" is inconsistent with the child's ambition, especially when the latter is based upon American ideals of success.[24]

To inculcate the ideal of "greatness," models of some particular virtue are pointed out, and the child is ordered to emulate the individual cited as explained in an autobiographical document.

> There was another boy (white) who lived across the street from us whom I never did get to know very well. But he was always working on the lawn or doing something about the house. My mother frequently pointed him out to me as the ideal of what a boy should be, and I had to work hard not to let him outdo me. Around our house there were comparatively few words of praise from my mother, and she was always comparing me unfavourably with some other boys with regard to some special outstanding trait which each possessed. It never occurred to me to point out to her that none of these boys were good in all respects, and my task became that of trying to pursue the ideal aspects of conduct of all my friends. Even George and Herb, both white boys who were ordinarily something of roughnecks, were named as exemplifying manliness or courtesy at some opportune moment when they happened to show these traits.

[24]For example, a son had been urged to become "great," to be "serious-minded." The career which he chose needed at least a Ph.D. for his success, yet as soon as he did obtain his B.A. degree his mother wanted him to discontinue any further education and assume the responsibility of supporting her. Her behaviour was entirely consistent from the Japanese point of view, but was illogical to the son, who looked upon it from the American point of view.

Then I would be humiliated by being told that if I would only behave the same way, I would be a better boy.

Apparently little praise is given the Japanese child. A number of *nisei* declared their parents had been glad when they received good grades, but had never commended them. This seems to be consistent with other Japanese attitudes. The Japanese child learns that to withhold praise from him and to compare him unfavourably with others is the way Japanese parents show affection and seek to encourage him to greater effort. Not infrequently, however, *nisei* who have contact with the American system of incentive by commendation come to feel that they have been deprived of parental affection.

To urge the child to emulate others is a device common to all parents, but among Japanese the technique assumes heightened importance. The lines of class demarcation within the traditional culture of Japan are clear-cut, and the child is supposed to know who are his elders, his equals, and his inferiors. Within this rigid hierarchy of excellence and superiority certain individuals are pointed out as exemplars of particular traits whose actions are worthy of imitation. This idea of emulation was carried over into Japanese family life in America, and still plays a vital part in sensitizing the individual to his foibles and pointing the way to self-improvement.

There were other ways in which my personality was being directed. Reference was constantly made to the "manly" way of behaving. I was not to giggle and laugh too much; that was the way girls behaved. I wasn't to talk excessively for it wasn't befitting a man. Any time that visitors came they would say I was *"otonashii"* (quiet, well-behaved), which my mother, with hidden pride, would deny. As a matter of fact when visitors came we were to do the *ojiki*, greeting and bowing, which I could never do properly; and since my mother would apologize to the friends for my awkwardness, I came to detest meeting visitors. If we were permitted to sit around at all, we had to talk in the niceties of the Japanese manner. It is little wonder that I never developed into much of a conversationalist, and that I never felt at ease among strangers.[25]

Every member of a Japanese family is made keenly aware of "family honour." The family as a unit knows what acts will bring criticism from the community, and each member so conducts

[25]From an autobiographical document in the author's file.

himself that his behaviour will win the commendation rather than the disapprobation of neighbours and friends. Yoshizawa writes, "The girls are expected to stay home at nights because mother is afraid of what people might say. She often says that we must live up to the expectations of the community." Each small act is judged by how it will reflect upon the family honour.

> As in all Japanese families, family honour is of great importance and we are all expected to do our best for the sake of our family. Mother often lectures us that whatever we do threatens or upholds our family name, and that if we should do anything shameful, the public could blame the parents' method of bringing us up. A blot on the family honour! That doesn't seem thinkable for a Japanese family. Mother would rather die than live through it. She is extremely religious, and, with due regard for family honour, maintains in her room a small shrine for our ancestors. She worships daily by chanting prayers which cannot be understood by one with just an ordinary knowledge of Japanese. Every day, before serving others, she offers food to the gods. When fresh fruits are in season, she offers these also. She keeps another shrine for her religion, *Shingon Shu*, a Buddhist sect. She offers food and prayers to this shrine, but not as often as she does to the ancestors.

The individual is expected to act circumspectly at all times both within the home and in the community. Such expectation develops a close reciprocal relationship between the Japanese family and the community.[26] With respect to the interaction of family and community life, Miyamoto states:

> But Japanese community life is nothing except the constellation of Japanese family units functioning in its matrix. For occasions of family crises such as births, deaths, and marriages, have relatively little meaning for the Japanese except as they are related to the community life of the people. Among the individualistic type of family such as exists in Western civilization this might not be true to any extent, but within the collectivistic system of the Japanese, family functions are an inseparable part of the community functions.[27]

That Japanese children when small are spoiled is a view widely held in the West. Japan has been called by various writers a "paradise for children." In *Things Japanese*,[28] Chamberlain points out that almost every whim of the child is gratified as long as there is no injury to himself or others, and that, in consequence, the

[26]For the best statement of family-community relationships see Hearn, *Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation*, pp. 65-118; 443-82.

[27]Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, p. 87.

[28]Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*.

young become very mischievous. Hearn has also given us one of the best statements of the comparative merits of Oriental and Occidental education.

> The aim of Western education is the cultivation of individual ability and personal character, the creation of an independent and forceful being. Japanese education has always been conducted on the reverse plan. Its object never has been to train the individual for independent action, but to train him for co-operation to fit him to occupy an exact place in the mechanism of a rigid society. Constraint among ourselves begins with childhood, and gradually relaxes; constraint in Far Eastern training begins later, and thereafter gradually tightens; and it is not a constraint imposed directly by parents or teachers which fact, as we shall presently see, makes an enormous difference in results. Not merely up to the age of school-life supposed to begin at six years, but considerably beyond it, a Japanese child enjoys a degree of liberty far greater than is allowed to Occidental children. Exceptional cases are common, of course; but the general rule is that the child be permitted to do as he pleases, providing that his conduct can cause no injury to himself or to others. He is guarded, but not constrained; admonished, but rarely compelled. In short, he is allowed to be so mischievous that, as a Japanese proverb says, "even the holes by the roadside hate a boy of seven or eight years."[29]

But if the Japanese child is indulged in every way, it should not be inferred that he experiences no frustration.[30] Though he is the centre of attention of all the adults and older children of the family, some restrictions are placed upon his conduct, and punishment is meted out. The generations closest to Japanese life, of course, bear the marks of this type of rearing most obviously; those brought up in America are less pampered. Thus, for example, a *sansei* is put to bed and usually left alone until he falls asleep by himself, whereas the immigrant mother generally remained at the child's bedside until his eyes closed. The third generation, as a result, is less timid and shy, and freer of expression than the *nisei*. One teacher remarked: "It is not difficult to tell the difference

[29] (Quoted by permission of the Macmillan Co.). Hearn, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation*, pp. 460-1. Hearn further observes that "nothing is ever denied" the Japanese child. One *nisei* informant was amazed to learn that denial was a common mode of punishment among white parents. Another said that only after the child was eight years old did Japanese parents start forcing the child to conduct himself in certain ways. This "age of constraint" probably varies somewhat according to families.

[30] A detailed statement of training and frustrations is found in an article by Gorer, "Three Themes in Japanese Culture," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, March 1943, pp. 106-24.

between the second and third generation. The *nisei* are much slower in coming out of their shell than the *sansei*."

An important factor in the development of the individual outlook of the Japanese-American child is his relation to the family's economic activities. Children are expected to assume their share of the work as soon as they are old enough, particularly when the family is engaged in farming or in running a small shop or hotel. This economic contribution extends through adolescence and, in some cases, continues until marriage. Not all parents are considerate of the growing child's needs, and the traditional patriarchal relationship of Japanese life lends itself to what may be called extended exploitation of the offspring. This is especially common, as in other immigrant groups, among lower-class parents. The provident parent uses the money earned by his offspring to build up a savings account to cover expenses at school or a trip to Japan; the thoughtless, exploiting parent uses the children's earnings for his own immediate purposes.[31]

The small shop-keepers and farmers keep no separate account of the income brought in or earned by each member of the family. Income from all sources is pooled, and if the child wants something, money from the common fund is provided if available. There can be no doubt that the fruits of children's work have contributed greatly toward the successful establishment of many immigrant families in the New World. One informant declared that her father often claimed that had it not been for the efforts and contributions of his children, he could never have started in his successful rhubarb business. Since Japanese children are under the complete control of their parents and are trained to think that the entire family will suffer without their contribution, they readily adapt themselves to work in the family business. In return, the

[31]The Reverend K. Unoura, of Los Angeles, writes in the *Pacific Citizen*, September 1938: "In spite of the deep interest of Japanese parents, the family has failed to meet the needs of the present so far as the question of vocational guidance is concerned. Many Japanese parents are unwisely ambitious for their children; others are short-sighted and are too anxious to get the immediate benefit of the income that is to be derived from the first job that is offered; and still others are lamentably ignorant of the first principles that ought to govern in the choice of life-work."

parental home is theirs until marriage, and sometimes even afterward. They are never asked to pay for board and room, and Japanese express amazement that some Occidental families require the children to pay for meals and lodging after they start working. Indeed, they are surprised to learn that many Caucasian children prefer to live away from home. The Japanese home is more than a "man's castle"; it is his family's castle, and, as has frequently been pointed out, his relatives' and friends' castle as well.

How long the Japanese family will continue to function as an economic unit cannot be predicted. If the *nisei* can follow the example of other young Americans and find work away from home and the parental business, the family firm or enterprise may be expected to dissolve. If, however, broader employment opportunities are denied to them, the *nisei* will find a place in some marginal occupation, and the family as an economic unit will continue to thrive.

The Kibei

Difficult though the adjustment problem may be for the *nisei* born and bred in America, that of *kibei* is doubly so, for they must adapt themselves not only to American life, but to their own families and racial community as well. Though born in America, these children spend the first fourteen or eighteen years of their lives in Japan, and upon their return to America bear upon their personalities the indelible impress of Oriental custom and thought. On their return to this country they recapitulate the experiences of the first generation.

In general there are three types of Japanese families in the United States. The family in which all the children have been kept in this country may be called the unseparated family.[32] In this type of family the children have been reared in America by the immigrant parents, and the usual emotional attachments and relations

[32]This does not take into consideration the disorganized family, the group in which cleavages have developed because of the stresses and strains of American life and whose members have become dispersed. That is a line of investigation which has not been systematically pursued, although acquaintance with Japanese family and community life in this country suggests it would yield significant data.

have developed between parents and offspring, and among the children themselves. Since each member of the family and the unit as a whole are in the process of adjustment to the same problems in much the same way, they share in the common experiences and the struggle for a living. The family is a well-integrated whole, and family affection is immediate and deep. Brothers and sisters are not strangers to one another. The parental authority is uniformly exerted, and respected by all.

A second type of family is the separated one,[33] in which the eldest child or children have been sent by the immigrant parents to reside with and be brought up by relatives in Japan, and the offspring for one reason or another have not returned to America. The number of children sent to the old country depended upon the resources and willingness of the relatives there. In such families the natural bonds of affection between parent and child either failed to develop or atrophied through lack of contact. The children growing up in Japan have become virtual strangers to their families in America,[34] and, indeed, have become Japanese in heart and mind.

The divided family resulted when a *kibei* rejoined his parents and siblings in America after years of absence during which he evolved a temperament and outlook entirely unsuited to American life. Such a *kibei*, having been educated in the Japanese schools, is adept in all the correct modes of traditional Japanese behaviour, which the *nisei* can only strive to approximate. His brothers and sisters, who have been reared in the American schools, are adjusted to the American mode of life which is antithetical to all the *kibei*

[33]Reference is made here only to the voluntary separation of members of the family. The problem arising from the involuntary separation of families as a result of the National Immigration Act of 1924 is not considered here.

[34]See Strong, *Japanese in California*, p. 74. Strong's study was based on a representative 10 per cent. sample of the Japanese in California; his sample includes 849 different children who were in Japan in 1930. He estimates that there were at that time 12,163 children in Japan with one or both parents in the continental United States. He states that 50 per cent. were born in America and hence can return at will; for 21 per cent. of the remainder, the place of birth is unreported. A possible minimum of 29 per cent. were not American-born. The latter probably constituted part of the group which could not join their families here because of the 1924 Immigration Act; however, it is also possible that these children had been here and returned to Japan, but Strong reports no figures on this.

knows and deems of merit. It is not uncommon, therefore, that the return of a Japan-reared child results in strained family relations, often leading to complete rupture or dislocation. The following account indicates some of the tensions and conflicts incident upon the return of *kibei* from Japan:

Father took my oldest sister to Japan as soon as she was one year old. Then, after my oldest brother was born, mother took him to Japan and joined father. Their reason for leaving the children in the old country was to help themselves financially.

They fully intended to go back to Japan as soon as they had earned sufficient money, and it seemed perfectly right for them to leave the children there for the time being. My sister was placed in the care of my paternal uncle, my brother was left with my maternal uncle. My parents hardly anticipated what bitterness and antagonism this was going to create in the children.

Our family seemed to be a very happy and normal one until 1932, when my sister and brother returned to America. Sister always felt antagonistic toward father and mother for having sent her to Japan instead of letting her stay with the rest of the family. On the other hand, she felt a deep sense of responsibility towards Auntie and Uncle for having taken care of her, and considered herself obligated to work for them in return. She called them "Mother" and "Father," but she didn't feel free to impose on them for whatever she wished to do. Auntie hated the idea of sister's leaving Japan, and, therefore, taught her to dislike American things and ways. As a result, my sister didn't like milk, butter or tomatoes when she came to America, and she found Willistown an insufferable small town compared with Tokyo. She refused to stay in America. We wanted her to remain until the summer, so that we could go places together, and mother planned to have her learn pattern-drafting and cooking, so that it would help her in later life. But, no, she just had to leave by April. Before leaving, she expressed her bitterness and resentment outright to father and mother. Father, who had not contemplated such an outcome of his well-intentioned efforts, was extremely hurt when she told him he didn't know how to bring up children. She asked him why she had been born if they didn't want her. Then father grew angry, and began to throw dishes around the room. My sister started to cry, and mother had to appease father. This all happened on the day my sister was to leave for Japan. She wanted to go back second class, but my father, determined to help her get over being spoiled, insisted that, in times of depression, third class passage was good enough. So, third class she went!

Not having been subjected to the same home influences by the relatives who brought him up in Japan, my older brother came to America determined to adjust himself. Whenever he was asked whether he preferred Japan to America, he would answer, "Naturally, Japan, because I was reared there; but I must stay in America — this is my permanent home — so I'll get used to it." He found

it very difficult to learn English. Indeed, the second fight in our family arose when my brother refused to go to an oratorical contest because, he said, he wouldn't understand what went on. We told him that just hearing the language would help him in his English, but he would not be moved. He repeated his reason to father, who grew angry and remonstrated with him, but still he refused to go. Then father became furious, and began to throw things, this time the kettle on the stove, wetting us all to the skin. My mother, sister and I had a difficult time calming father. Finally, my brother broke down and promised to go to the contest, though he was thoroughly drenched. We, too, had to go that way.[35]

Other types of *kibei* adjustment appear from the following accounts:

My brother and I get into trouble all the time. He says he is going to be the head of the family, but since I am the eldest son and have been reared in Japan, I feel that is my job. On the other hand, my sister, who was also reared in Japan, holds with me. We feel closer to each other than the others.

* * *

M., the eldest son, was sent to Japan for education, and upon his return could not get along with his parents. There were constant disputes over his brothers and sisters, and all sorts of difficulties with the language. Trouble between *nisei* and *kibei* brothers and sisters always devolves upon the parents. Usually, if the younger children complain, the fault is assumed to be the older children's and the older ones are generally the *kibei*. Many of the *kibei* leave home because of such trouble.

In a foreword to *Nisei Tragedy*, the Reverend K. Unoura, of Los Angeles, writes the following:

The Japanese community, loosely speaking, has since 1930 gradually shifted into the hands of second-generation Japanese. While the first generation is daily declining in ability to support the community due to the inroads of old age, the second generation has not yet reached the stage where they can be considered a successor. This is because of their age, their economic dependence, and lack of spiritual development.

The first generation is, as a consequence, worried over the situation. They see the second generation confronted with vocational as well as marriage problems of the *nisei* who were Japan-educated and recalled to America, misunderstood by their parents, regarded in the community as just "yobi-yose" (called-back *nisei,*) or *kibei shimin*. These unfortunate *nisei* are treated more or less as outcasts by their American-educated *nisei* acquaintances.[36]

[35]It should be pointed out that the author of this document indicates how much the siblings admire their older brother.

[36]Niisato, *Nisei Tragedy*.

In point of outlook toward America, there appear to be three types of *kibei*: those who recognize America as their home and are working hard to adjust themselves to American life; those who long to return to Japan and plan to do so at the first opportunity; and those who have no special inclination either way. No systematic study of these attitudes has yet been made, so that it is impossible to estimate which predominates.

Few of the parents who sent children to Japan for rearing were prepared for the variety and complexity of the problems attending their return. In the traditional Japanese scheme of life formal relationships were highly idealized, and the parents did not anticipate that the usual sentiments would not survive the separation and difference of environment. They expected a child reared here to feel and act toward a brother brought up in Japan in much the same manner as if they had been reared together, just as they felt the child returning from Japan should act towards his siblings in the manner customary in such relationships. But the experiences of the *kibei* with other members of their families indicate that mere blood-relationship is insufficient to overcome differences of training and experience. The expected formal behaviour is not forthcoming.

Nothing more clearly discloses to a Japanese family the profound difference between the American and Japanese modes of life than the return of a Japan-reared child. So great are the disturbances and frictions arising from the return of *kibei* that the problem has come to be regarded as a community one. Sometimes the conflict between the *nisei* and *kibei* is carried over openly into community activity, as, for example, in the case of the Japanese-American Citizens' League. Essentially the League is looked upon as a *nisei* development. Various leaders in the movement called upon the *kibei* to participate as a group in the work of the League, but differences arose because of the divergent interests of the two groups. In Los Angeles, after some friction, the differences were finally resolved by the creation of a *kibei* section of the local chapter of the League.

Further study of the *kibei* personality would probably reveal that the *kibei* tend to repeat the history of the first generation in

this country. They are primarily carriers of Japanese civilization. They have language difficulties, and form little social cliques apart from the *nisei* of their own age, whose interests and mores they do not share. In economic competition they find themselves at a considerable disadvantage. They have not only brought over from the Old World traits such as the *issei* brought with them prior to the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, but they have been a conservative influence aiding the persistence of these traits and counterbalancing other trends toward assimilation to surrounding American life. Within the same family, they offer contrasts by which the *nisei* discern the differences between the Japanese and themselves, and the differences between a fully Japanized person and one who is more American than Japanese. They point up the problem of those Japanese who wish at the same time to adjust themselves to American life and to make their children "good Japanese."

Chapter III

THE JAPANESE COMMUNITY

Some Population Facts

A conspicuous characteristic of Japanese life in America is that it has been lived, with few exceptions, in well-defined, segregated communities. Although the present relocation centres of the War Relocation Authority[1] have not been defined explicitly as Little Tokyos, they are under new conditions, but a continuation of the historical fact of segregation. How the process of resettlement, initiated by either voluntary or forced evacuation with later re-establishment from a centre, will affect Japanese community organization remains to be seen.

In the period of migration from the homeland, the immigrants moved through the port cities of Seattle and San Francisco into the surrounding areas and towns. Naturally some of them settled at once in the port and larger, close-by cities as there were good opportunities to establish businesses which would serve the more lately arrived settlers who were finding their best chances of success within a narrow strip along the Pacific Coast. In settling in cities and in rural areas, whether they worked on farms or in mines or sawmills, the Japanese sought out their own countrymen, and by so doing the immigrants could fashion a mode of community life in their efforts to adjust to American conditions and to maintain certain traditional Japanese values.

The population composition of a typical Japanese community has not been described by any investigator. A community might range in size from about fifty people to the 23,321 who resided in the city of Los Angeles in 1940. In the case of the Japanese, the meaning of the usual rural-urban category is still in doubt, for a number of the Japanese living within urban areas were farmers

[1]Established by Presidential Executive Order, March 18, 1942, for the purpose of resettling both alien and citizen evacuees after forced evacuation had been completed by the Army.

and might be more conservative in some of their notions about rearing the new generation than those who lived in more remote rural areas, isolated from other Japanese. To live in a remote area, for a Japanese, did not, however, mean to live apart from other Japanese or hundreds of miles from a good sized city but perhaps fifty or a hundred miles in Washington, Oregon, or California, states with excellent roads and rather mild weather throughout the year, is an isolating factor but not to be given too much weight. For some years writers have noted that the Japanese pattern of settlement was organized around large metropolitan centres, such as Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and because the Japanese farmed land close to the main arterials of travel and transportation they were rather conspicuous.

TABLE I

JAPANESE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY DIVISION AND IN PACIFIC STATES, 1890-1940

Division	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890
New England	340	352	347	272	89	45
Middle Atlantic	3,060	3,662	3,266	1,643	446	202
East N. Central	816	1,022	927	482	126	101
West N. Central	755	1,003	1,215	1,000	223	16
South Atlantic	442	393	360	156	29	55
East S. Central	43	46	35	26	7	19
West S. Central	564	687	578	428	30	42
Mountain	8,574	11,418	10,792	10,447	5,107	27
Pacific	112,353	120,251	93,490	57,703	18,269	1,532
Washington	14,565	17,837	17,387	12,929	5,617	360
Oregon	4,071	4,958	4,151	3,418	2,501	25
California	93,717	97,456	71,952	41,356	10,151	1,147
United States	126,947	138,834	111,010	72,157	24,326	2,039

SOURCE: The United States Bureau of the Census as reported in John H. Tolan (chairman), *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*, Table 6, p. 96.

Although certain facts of population for typical communities are not available, there are some general ones which serve to establish certain fundamental trends. The Japanese population, both

alien and native born, in the continental United States numbered 126,947 in 1940 (see Table I).[2]

It is commonly thought that the Japanese are in the main rural residents, but apparently they were affected by the general movement to the cities which began about 1920. The 1940 figures show that 54.9 per cent. of the Japanese lived in cities, as compared with 56.5 per cent. for the population of the United States as a whole. Census figures show clearly the trend in Japanese residences: in 1910, 48.8 per cent. of the entire Japanese population was urban; in 1920, 48.5 per cent.; in 1930, 53.8 per cent.; in 1940, 54.9 per cent. During this period the percentage of urban Japanese in California increased from 45.0 to 55.8.

It is sometimes claimed that the movement of the Japanese to the cities was started by the various state anti-alien land laws which made it difficult for them to settle permanently on the land. Although various writers have shown that these laws were not completely effective since there were ways to circumvent them,[3] there is no doubt that they were influential in accelerating the urban trend. But the urban movement was well under way by 1920, before the passage of the laws in most states or before their more rigid application and revision in those states which had already enacted them.[4] More important for the urban trend of settlement were the opportunities in the cities for entering into small businesses, which induced those already in the cities to settle there

[2]A detailed analysis of population growth is found in Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*. The most comprehensive publication of the United States Bureau of the Census of 1940 materials, at this writing, was found in Tolan (chairman), *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*.

[3]Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, presents an excellent discussion of the land laws. He also gives a good summary of occupational problems. For the effect of the land laws, see Strong's quotation, in *The Second Generation Japanese Problem*, p. 212, of John Rademaker's "Memorandum of Japanese Land Holding for Agricultural Purposes in the Puget Sound Region," a paper prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1934. Mears, in his *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, also has a good statement of Japanese occupations and the legal efforts to restrict the first generation. Both sides of the Japanese problem are fairly well summarized by various writers in "Present Day Immigration, with Special References to the Japanese," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1921.

[4]See Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, chap. XVII.

permanently and attracted others in the rural areas as a means of improving their economic status. The war years, 1914-18, were a boom period which made it possible for great numbers of Japanese to become established in hotels, dye works, and groceries. As opportunities opened up in the cities, those who had the capital and assistance of fellow countrymen left the rural areas and increased the number of small business establishments within the cities.[5]

One other factor accounting for the trend toward urbanization may be suggested. Of those immigrants returning to Japan, it is probable that many more went from the rural than from the urban areas, thus decreasing the relative percentage of rural Japanese. The farmers and other workers on the land apparently were not as well established as the urbanites. It is impossible now to forecast post-war trends, but prior to evacuation it was suspected that American-born Japanese were still leaving the farms and trying to go into business. In part this resulted from the increasing number entering college and receiving professional training. Leaders of the *nisei* and *issei* groups, aware of the dislocation brought about by this exodus of the young from the land, have been trying to "keep them down on the farm." But adequate statistics are not available for 1940 to determine with accuracy what movements were taking place. From Table II, it will be noted that in the three Pacific States, the urban population for Washington decreased 0.1 per cent. in 1940 as compared with 1930: in California it increased 1.2 per cent.; and in Oregon the urban increase between 1930 and 1940 was 0.7 per cent. In view of the fact that a significant portion of the total decrease in the Japanese population between the two censuses as shown in Table I was undoubtedly due to the higher death-rate of the first generation, a larger proportion of whom may have been rural, a proper interpretation of figures in Table II cannot be made without more detailed studies than are now possible.

Another aspect of the Japanese shift in location was the growth

[5]The process of setting up small businesses is a traditional way of expansion, related to the patriarchal heritage by which an employer helps an employee start a shop for himself.

of the population in Los Angeles as compared with other parts of the Pacific Coast. Between 1900 and 1930 the Japanese population of Oregon almost doubled, increasing from 2,501 to 4,958; that of Washington more than trebled from 5,617 to 17,837. In California the Japanese population increased nine times during that period, from 10,151 to 97,456. This increase was centred in Los Angeles, beginning as a trickle at the turn of the century and becoming a considerable flow after 1910.

Within California there has been a notable drift to Los Angeles from the other counties. In 1930 seven of the fifty-eight counties held 71.2 per cent. of the total Japanese population in the state, while in 1940 they contained 90 per cent. Of this 90 per cent., Los Angeles County alone accounted for 39.34 per cent. Only two of these seven counties, Los Angeles and Santa Clara, showed an increase of Japanese between 1900 and 1930. From the figures available, it is impossible to tell whether this trend was due to births and deaths or to migration, but, whatever the cause, the net result before evacuation was a concentration of 28.3 per cent. of Japanese in continental United States within the Los Angeles area.

Undoubtedly the redistribution of the Japanese, especially along the Pacific Coast, was largely the result of economic pressures and incentives. But there was also another factor — the Japanese predisposition to associate with Japanese, arising in part from traditional sentiments which were strengthened by the discrimination practised against them.

Prior to 1907 the majority of Japanese immigrants were males. Between 1908 and 1920 the proportion of female immigrants increased significantly as a result of the picture-bride plan of securing wives. The trend toward a more normal sex ratio has been continuous, but even in 1930 only 41.1 per cent. of all Japanese were females. By 1940 this percentage had increased to 43.3, there being 71,967 males and 54,980 females. The change in ratio was brought about by two factors: births tended to be equally distributed between males and females, and the older population, made up mainly of first generation males, was being rapidly reduced

by death. Thus, as time passes the sex ratio will continue to move toward a more normal distribution.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STATE JAPANESE POPULATION FOR RURAL-FARM, URBAN, AND RURAL-NONFARM RESIDENTS IN SELECTED STATES, 1930 AND 1940, RANKED IN PERCENTAGE OF URBAN.

State	Total Population 1940	Total Population 1930	Total percentage	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL Urban 1940	Urban 1930	Rural-nonfarm 1940	Rural-nonfarm 1930	Rural-farm 1940	Rural-farm 1930
Washington	14,565	17,837	100.0	60.4	60.5	11.2	15.2	28.4	24.3
California	93,717	97,456	100.0	55.9	54.7	7.6	10.4	36.5	24.9
Texas	458	519	100.0	47.0	48.2	6.9	7.9	46.1	43.9
Oregon	4,071	4,958	100.0	46.1	45.4	11.3	18.2	42.6	36.4
Utah	2,210	3,269	100.0	34.7	31.9	21.5	31.9	43.8	36.2
Nebraska	480	674	100.0	31.0	32.6	4.7	8.6	64.3	58.8
Wyoming	643	1,026	100.0	28.4	23.0	45.0	59.0	26.6	18.0
Colorado	2,734	3,213	100.0	17.6	16.8	6.9	8.6	75.5	74.6
Idaho	1,191	1,421	100.0	15.7	18.1	14.3	21.1	70.0	60.8
Arizona	632	879	100.0	14.7	9.8	22.6	23.4	62.7	66.8

SOURCE: Calculated from *U.S. Census, 1930, vol.* II: *Population,* table 22, p. 66. The 1940 data were supplied upon request to the United States Bureau of the Census.

Since immigration was halted in 1924 our Japanese population has been rapidly becoming a native-born population. In 1920 the native-born individuals constituted only 26.7 per cent. of the total group while by 1930 they had increased to 49.2, and by 1940 to 62.7 per cent. of the total. In view of the high average age of the first generation and the legal restrictions on immigration, it will be only a few decades more before the American-Japanese population is entirely native-born.

For many years Americans, especially those on the Pacific Coast, expressed grave concern over the high Japanese birth-rate. The antagonism against the picture-bride movement was an expression of this, for it was felt that if all Japanese males were able to marry, the fertile Japanese would within a few generations firmly entrench themselves and overrun the Coast. This fear of "capture" by peaceful infiltration, rather than the more lurid accounts of the "Yellow Peril," was what most disturbed whites in the West.

S. J. Holmes has shown that in 1920 the birth-rate for Japanese in California had reached 69.93 per thousand as compared with 18.60 per thousand for the white population in California. This rate dropped to 22.82 per thousand in 1930, while the white rate went down to 15.63 per thousand.[6] Calculations based upon unpublished data of the Bureau of the Census show that in 1940 the birth-rate of Japanese in California declined to 15.5 per thousand, the Oregon rate to 15.4, and the Washington rate to 11.7. The Japanese birth-rate before Pearl Harbour, therefore, was approaching that of the greater population. In absolute numbers the 1940 data show a slight increase in total Japanese births for the three Pacific States — 1,661 for 1939 and 1,714 for 1940. It thus appears that 1921 was the year of the greatest number of births, and 1939 the year of fewest births since the end of the picture-bride period in 1920.

At present nothing definite can be forecast about the future of the Japanese component of the American population. The *nisei* have been adopting native American standards of living as well as the notions about the desirability of a small family. Economic discrimination has been a further limiting factor upon the size of family, making it very difficult for the younger *nisei* to establish and support families. Henceforth the *nisei* face the additional burden of adjustment to evacuation.[7] It will be interesting to watch changes in the birth-rate during the next decade.

[6]Holmes, "Trend of Birth-Rate of the Oriental Population of the U.S.A.," *Journal of International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems*, December 1937, pp. 47-59.

[7]A preliminary statement on some of these problems has been made by Bloom, "Familial Adjustments of Japanese-Americans to Relocation; First Phase," *American Sociological Review*, October 1943, pp. 551-60.

Prefectural Association[8]

As an outsider becomes more familiar with Japanese community life, he distinguishes certain features of Japanese-American society which draw the *nisei* closer to the traditional Japanese mode of life, and others which make them more keenly aware of their separation from things Japanese. Although the purpose is not to determine what is "Japanese" and what is "American," some effort must be made to sketch the general background of the *nisei* social world. Some of the institutions or customs of that world which existed or came into existence between 1920 and 1940 are not likely to continue after the war, but before the evacuation they represented, in *nisei* experience, the antithesis between the "Japanese" way and the "American way" of life.

In Japan the prefecture is an administrative unit of the nation, roughly comparable to an American state. The people of each prefecture are distinguished from others by provincial differences in speech and customs.[9] Those from Hiroshima, according to immigrants for example, are supposed to be business men, sharpers, and especially hard dealers. One *issei* mother said that her daughter went to work outside the home because her husband was from Hiroshima and men of that prefecture expected their wives to provide some of the family's cash income. As Hearn points out, a Japanese is supposed to marry someone from his own district. The immigrant naturally had his closest social ties with others from the same prefecture because they spoke the same dialect and had been influenced by the same early experiences.

[8]A statement of the economic foundations of Japanese communities will be found in Chapter IV, summarized by Table III. Suffice it to say here that the economic activities of the Japanese have been restricted chiefly to agricultural lines and small business. Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, p. 71, shows that in 1935 of the gainfully employed Japanese in Seattle, 45 per cent. were in "trade" and 31 per cent. were in domestic and personal services.

The most recent summary of the economic structure of the Pacific coast communities is to be found in Tolan, *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*, pp. 101-15. In 1940 about 45 per cent. were in agriculture, 23 per cent. in trade, and 17 per cent. in personal services.

[9]See Embree, *Suye Mura*, p. 12; pp. 22-6.

The prefectural associations in the United States have been regarded by some writers as merely social organizations which met only for picnics and the exchange of gossip. This is a rather superficial view. For the first generation these organizations were one of the chief means by which the immigrants adjusted themselves to their new conditions of life. The associations were important in mutual aid activities and in business affairs,[10] and it was through their activities that many of the immigrants found jobs, learned new trades, or prospered in business. An insurance agent, for example, to be successful had to belong to a prefectural association with a large membership, for the Japanese conduct business largely on the basis of friendship or acquaintance.[11] The prefectural associations are based upon geographic units in Japan and one must be born into the group: it is impossible to join the one which might be of most commercial benefit.

The prefectural clubs appear to outsiders as extremely casual, social affairs, but actually they are one of the most important factors in the perpetuation of traditional Japanese culture and customs, and hence of the differences from the surrounding American world. Many *nisei* have described to the author in detail the games, the traditional folk dances, and the drinking of rice wine at such association functions.

The associations are also directly concerned with arranged marriages, since parents who wish to arrange marriages for their offspring try to mate them with persons from the same prefecture. This practice, however, is apparently not carrying over very well to the second generation; information concerning romantic and arranged marriages is not very reliable, but it appears that in many instances the *nisei* spouses have come from different prefectures. But, since certain prefectural associations predominate in certain areas, one would expect to find many marriages between persons from the same prefectures as a result of propinquity.

Japanese-American children are very much aware of the activities

[10]See Fukuoko, "Mutual Life and Aid among the Japanese in Southern California" (unpublished Master's Thesis).

[11]Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, pp. 118-21.

of their parents in the prefectural associations. They also come into contact with the clubs as a result of the parents' efforts to continue the groups into the second generation, as in the formation of "junior *ken*" organizations. In many instances children were urged or forced to attend meetings of these clubs against their wishes, with the result that the junior *ken* were not in the least spontaneous or popular.

Sponsorship of the well-known "study tours" to Japan was another important activity of the prefectural clubs before the war. Preparations for such a tour were elaborate, involving careful geographic and historical studies and systematic saving. When a prospective tourist could not save enough money, the club would in some instances make a donation to cover his expenses. It was regarded as an unusual privilege to go to Japan in such a group. The study tour enabled the *nisei* to learn more about Japan, emphasized the importance of the prefectural grouping, and linked them with the Japanese world.

Church Organizations

Within the Japanese communities, the Buddhists[12] and the Christians are the most important religious groups while the Shinto sects are numerically unimportant. The Buddhist and the Christian churches have extensive and well-developed programmes of activity and naturally seek to outdo each other.

Observing and thoughtful Japanese declare that the Japanese language is used more in Buddhist than in Christian groups and Buddhists are more closely bound to Japanese culture than are Japanese Christians. Yet the Buddhist churches in America are very much like the Christian, a similarity first cultivated in Japan, but emphasized in this country. The Buddhist Sunday school songs show how far this imitation has gone, and how much Buddhism has been modified by Western Christian contacts. In

[12]For a detailed study and description of the Buddhist Church, see Ogura, "Sociological Study of the Buddhist Churches in North America, with a Case Study of Gardena, California, Congregation" (unpublished Master's Thesis); Takahashi, "Social Study of the Japanese Shinto and Buddhism in Los Angeles" (unpublished Master's Thesis); and Takeuchi, "Religious Life of Japanese Children in America" (unpublished Master's Thesis).

Japan the temples do not have memberships and congregations, as do Buddhist churches in America,[13] nor do they, as here, have Sunday schools, young people's clubs, athletic activities — or any of the other familiar activities organized by usual American churches. In this country the basement of the average Buddhist church is equipped to prepare and serve dinners, and the wife of the priest often teaches the Japanese women how to prepare Japanese festal foods. The Buddhist church may also conduct a language school.

Although theological differences between Buddhism and Christianity are profound,[14] the conflicts between Japanese Christian and Buddhist churches are much less intense and extensive than those between Catholics and Protestants. It is not uncommon to find in the same family both Christian and Buddhist members. An individual usually goes to a church that his friends attend or to the one which is most convenient, if he wishes to deviate from family choice of denomination.

Christian Japanese declare that Christianity has been a liberating factor facilitating adjustment to American life. The Buddhist philosophy is one of resignation and acceptance, but Christians

[13] *U.S. Bureau of the Census Religious Bodies, 1926,* states that relatives of "members" of Buddhist Temples were included in previous censuses, but not in 1926 as they are "not regularly enrolled" (p. 14). Only the "heads" of families are enrolled. So, when a Buddhist priest says that he has 200 members he means 200 heads of families, though there may be some 500 visitants in the congregation. In *Religious Bodies, 1936,* there is a brief statement regarding Buddhism in America.

For a statement regarding the flexible nature of Japanese Buddhism and some of the influences Christianity has had on it in Japan, see Pratt, *Pilgrimage of Buddhism,* pp. 548, 568, 594.

As to the conduct of religious services in a rural area, see Embree, *Suye Mura,* pp. 229-36.

[14] Takeuchi, "Religious Life of Japanese Children in America" (unpublished Master's Thesis), pp. 64-5, gives this example. "Some months ago in Pasadena, a serious competition [*sic*] between the Christians and Buddhists grew up. The motive of this competition was that a few years ago the Buddhists in Pasadena tried to build a Buddhist church, but they could not realize their aims because of the strong objection of both American and Japanese Christians. The reason for this objection was that Pasadena was a Christian community, where no other religion was wanted, and to bring Buddhism into Pasadena would not only break the peace of the community, but also cause and strengthen the anti-Japanese feeling . . . But the attitude of the Christians toward the Buddhists is quite wrong. Whatever the nature of Pasadena may be, to try to exclude another religion is against the Constitution of the United States of America."

feel that they can do something about life on this earth. Several informants pointed out that it is the Buddhist group which still insists on large and elaborate weddings and suppers, the serving of rice wine (*sake*), and other traditional items which make getting married so costly. The Christians have small weddings and serve ice cream, sandwiches, and cake instead of *sake*. The group, although its activities are limited to Japanese participation, develops through its ritual some identification with American civilization.[15] This is less easy for the Buddhists. When an Occidental woman became a Buddhist priestess, she thereby identified herself with things characteristically Japanese; but she did not, by her adherence, provide the *nisei* with an opportunity to identify themselves with anything characteristically American.

When the immigrants arrived, Christian missionaries became active among them and were of great assistance in getting them started in American life. The missionaries taught them English, found jobs for them, helped plan for marriages, acted as counsellors, tided them over the slack periods of employment, and, in general, taught them about our ways of living. The missionaries in Japan had advised the immigrants to call on certain people, and for these services the Japanese felt deeply indebted. Through the various missionary activities, the Japanese have come to have their own churches.[16] In each church there is a Japanese pastor, and sometimes also an Occidental pastor or church worker. Such work is carried on by the home mission branch of the various denominations. One informant boasted that though his church could afford only meagre equipment it was the only one with independent status.

Japanese parents probably send their children to church for the same reasons that Occidental parents do, but they are much more explicitly concerned about the moral values involved. One parent said that if a child did not go to a Christian Sunday School or to a Japanese language school, then his moral training was inadequate.

[15]Christianity is looked upon by Oriental peoples as an integral part of American civilization. Some of the Japanese in America have advocated conversion to Christianity for the first generation, so that they might identify themselves more closely with American activities and civilization.

[16]See *World Survey, by the Interchurch World Movement of North America*, "Orientals in the United States," vol. I, pp. 127-32.

The language school and the church are highly prized because they make up for the lack of religious instruction in American public schools. Some *nisei* have been brought up in Occidental churches and their parents have attended with them. One parent who had been very active in church work in an Occidental community as long as he had children in Sunday school declared that he no longer participated now that the children were all over eighteen and did as they pleased about going to church.

The Japanese churches have well-rounded activity programmes. In addition to Sunday services there are committee meetings, parties, picnics, conferences, sports, and such other undertakings as the preparation of *Bussei*, a quarterly publication of the Northwest Young People's Buddhist League. The Buddhists have numbers of Lotus Clubs — Lancers, Seniors, Lumbinis, Ashuras, and others. From time to time regional conferences of affiliated church groups are held. During the Thanksgiving holidays, for instance, the Christian groups have held two-day conferences at which four hundred or more delegates gathered from many points to discuss current problems and such subjects as "Breaking Down Barriers," "Falling in Love Intelligently," and "Church Programmes." A chairman of one of these conferences explained that in the past the programmes dealt mainly with Christian living, but that this was no longer sufficient and they were now taking up larger social problems, thus revitalizing the conferences.[17]

[17]The Sixth Annual Convention of the Northwest Young People's Buddhist Federation, March 20-1, 1937, Portland, Oregon, held round-table discussions on the following topics: "The Fundamental Idea of Buddhism," "An Outline of Shinshu," "Bussei Shido Genri," "An Outline of Mahayana Buddhism," "Comparisons between Buddhism and Christianity," and "Religious Faith and Etiquette." At this convention there were two oratorical contests, one in English and one in Japanese. The English themes were: "The Spirit of Japan and Buddhism," "The Second Generation and the Buddhist Faith," "Past and Future of American Buddhism," and "Establishment of a Buddhist Cultural Civilization." The general tenor of the speeches was that Buddhism could save America from its "crass materialism" and its lack of "spiritual life."

At the Seventh Annual Young People's Christian Conference, Seattle, Washington, November 27-9, 1936, the following themes were discussed: "Personal Religious Living," "Christian Youth and Vocation," "Preparation for Home and Training," "Breaking down Barriers," "Why War?" and "Toyohiko Kagawa." The programme listed nineteen Occidental and one Negro speakers. On the Buddhist programme there was but one Occidental person — the Buddhist priestess mentioned above.

Native Americans are frequently leaders of discussion groups and main speakers at these conferences. This is one opportunity for them and the Japanese to mix freely, and they seem to enjoy it; but they who participate are usually church workers or teachers, and thus represent only a limited part of the larger community.

All these church activities, from athletics to large conferences, are essentially Japanese.[18] They are assisted in their programmes by some native Americans, nevertheless the meetings are Japanese-sponsored, Japanese-supported, and Japanese-attended. But even then such conferences tend to enlarge horizons. They bring people from the smaller to the larger communities, promote contacts between high-school and college groups, and in some instances open up new lines of development. Many who attend are away from home for the first time. Although such activities make the young people aware of a cleavage between Japanese and American ways, they arouse, on the whole, no resentment.

The Japanese feel that they are not wanted in the American churches. Some have gone to the larger churches where the formality and the lack of intimacy among members have made them feel ill at ease. This has resulted in a preference for their own smaller churches. Some who have attended the Occidental churches have experienced a warm reception, only to find later, as their members increased, that they were no longer welcome. Apparently their presence in white American churches arouses opposition as soon as there is "danger of a Japanese invasion." In view of the fact that the churches are important parts of the community structure, the *nisei* feel that attendance at their own churches is only natural as they conceive of themselves as Japanese Americans who have certain institutions for their exclusive use.

[18]Takeuchi, "Religious Life of Japanese Children in America" (unpublished Master's Thesis), p. 33, states: "Japanese children's social life, at large, is limited within the group of Japanese children. Only six out of 630 children are playing with both Japanese and Americans, and only two children answered that they are playing with Americans. To bring them up to become citizens of the United States of America, therefore, we must broaden their social life, providing them with the chance to get intimate acquaintance with American children more and more. Thus from the beginning of their social life the true friendship should be cultivated."

Sex Segregation

It is a primary function of Japanese parents to teach their children the rigidly defined way of acting "manly" or "womanly." The roles of the two sexes are highly stereotyped, and in view of the close integration of family and community life, not only parents but also each member of a community serve as a censor in maintaining such roles. Since matters of sex and marriage are, in the traditional scheme, so intimately related to male superiority, parental dominance, and family honour, it is to be expected that serious difficulties would arise when the American-born children were old enough to go to school and, later, to marry unless they followed traditional patterns exactly. As distinction between the "manly way" and the "womanly way" was painstakingly expounded by the parents and discussed within the community, undeviating adherence to the traditions of sex segregation was expected. But the young people became aware of the way that sexes mingled among Americans, and so the contrast between the Old and New World was seen and early became a factor in distinguishing between the two modes of life. Attempts to follow new patterns of sex relations created community issues which were productive of considerable friction between the two generations at home and in public affairs.[19]

In discussing the "good old days" of earlier community life, an older *nisei* confided that "When I grew up a fellow wasn't supposed to be seen around with a girl. The older people would talk to you and try to keep you away from girls. It was that way in old Japan, but even there it is different now. You can go out with a girl, but there will be gossip."

[19]In the *Onna Daigaku,* [The Greater Learning for Women] quoted in Chamberlain, *Things Japanese,* 1890 edition, p. 367, it states that "from her earliest youth, a girl should observe the line of demarcation separating women from men; and never, even for an instant, should she be allowed to see or hear the least impropriety."

Because of these feudal attitudes, an American-born and reared woman finds it more difficult to adjust herself to Japan than does a man. Women reared in America often refuse, when in Japan, to let the men "push them around." Recently a mother hesitated to let her daughter go to Japan because she was afraid that the daughter's "independence" would involve her in unpleasant incidents in public.

In contrast to America, where the schools are generally co-educational on the primary level, the sexes are separated in Japan even in the lower grades. In the language schools in this country the sexes were mingled, but there was considerable tension, manifesting itself in teasing and rough treatment of the girls by the boys, far in excess of that found in public schools. Undoubtedly this was the result of the clash of Japanese and American customs, neither of which has developed habits sufficiently effective to control the behaviour of the aggressive young males. *Nisei* girls, contrasting their experiences in the public schools and the Japanese language schools, and influenced by the motion picture, quickly concluded that Caucasian men behave differently from Japanese men. The non-Japanese man is, in their eyes, more courteous.

I think the American boys are much more decent and thoughtful toward the Japanese girls than are the Japanese boys. At the public school the American boys are very courteous and gentlemanly. When I go to Japanese-language school I find the difference very noticeable. The Japanese boys dominate us and are very rude. I suppose it is the result of the Japanese family life in which boys have priority and higher value over girls.

Japanese custom decrees that a young man and woman shall not be seen alone together until after marriage. When parents insisted upon this, conflict with their American-bred children was inevitable. Add to this the emphasis on male superiority and dominance, and the effect upon the Americanized girls is understandable. Of course from the point of view of the parents, whose Japanese experience leads them to believe that males seek women only to satisfy sexual needs, the association of the two sexes in so "wild" a place as America could not but jeopardize the daughter's reputation and make it difficult to arrange a suitable marriage. Hence, if the girls wanted to "date" in high school or college, there was almost certain to be trouble at home. Should a young man put his arms around a girl when dancing, it was interpreted as a prelude to immoral relations. Usually the eldest girl in the family "blazed the way" for the younger members, bearing the brunt of parental disfavour when the ancient moral norms were broken. Sometimes parents solved the problem by letting the children go out in groups instead of couples, but at best this was a compromise

showing the persistence of the traditional sex segregation attitude. One informant gave an excellent example of this problem.

I attended a convention of the North West Canadian Ministers in the summer of 1940, at which problems of the second-generation Japanese were discussed. When the subject of dancing was broached, one first-generation Japanese interrupted to say that he objected to it, because when a boy put his arm around a girl it was only to derive sexual pleasure. He was so sure of his point that I asked him whether he derived sexual satisfaction from sitting beside a lady at church. The question not only embarrassed but silenced him.

Although the absolute authority of parents over children has given way to more and more compromise on the issue of sex segregation, supervision is still stricter for daughters than for sons. Boys, traditionally more privileged, have been granted greater latitude in departing from the old ways. The entire problem, however, will not be solved until basic child training of both sexes conforms more closely to the American pattern. More was involved than the parent-child relationship. The general opposition to dancing or mixed recreational activities, brought from the old country, must be overcome.

Not only was dancing a source of strife in the home—as it still is for some — but it has become a subject of community debate as well. It was a symbol of the profound difference between the American and the Japanese views of the sex problem. Until shortly before the evacuation, editors fulminated, ministers sermonized, and lecturers held forth on "what to do about the dancing problem". In the face of much criticism, various Japanese college organizations gave incoming students dancing instruction. Indeed, despite all efforts to suppress it, dancing has become one of the most popular forms of entertainment among Japanese students. In one city where the local parent-teacher association organized free dancing classes in the schools, the Japanese students turned out so enthusiastically that they monopolized the floor. Because their parents did not pay dues or attend the meetings of the association, this caused resentment and the classes were discontinued, although without explanation to the students.

The conflict over sex segregation is part of the community heritage of the Japanese-Americans. The resolution of that conflict is one index of their "Americanization."

Language Schools

According to the American view, the language school was a means of transmitting the doctrines of Japanese nationalism to American-born children. It was regarded as an indication that the Japanese did not want to give up their cultural — and national — heritage.

But unlike those of other immigrant groups in America, neither the Japanese nor the Chinese language school was a "parochial school." It was not a full-time school; the children attended not more than two hours each day, and in some schools even less. Nor was it used primarily as a mode of retaining or of making adherents to certain faiths. Some religious groups operated language schools, but religious instruction was of minor importance. Yet these schools were the object of much more severe attack and criticism than parochial schools maintained by other immigrant groups. To meet this criticism some Japanese communities sought to have the teaching of Japanese transferred to the American public schools, but such instruction, either in Japanese or American schools, was looked upon with disfavour by the school boards.

Reginald Bell, who has written the most detailed study of Japanese language schools,[20] failed to bring out one very important fact about the language school — that it functioned not only as a social centre for the parents, but also as an institutional device for reaffirming traditional values, thus relieving the tensions and fears of the days of oppression. Commenting on the constant fear of persecution, Tamiko Tanaka quotes the following:

> Japanese exclusion sentiment was so intense that in those days we lived a life of torture and hardship; even now I cannot help but shed tears when I think of those days. We were often stoned and clubbed, innocent as we were, and called ugly names by those who despised us. We dreaded to pass, especially at night, where people gathered in crowds; we seldom escaped attacks of some kind when we encountered men on the streets. It was a terrible state of mind to live in a community where one was not safe.[21]

[20]Bell, *Public School Education of Second Generation Japanese in California*, p. 116.

[21]Tanaka, "Japanese Language Schools in Relation to Assimilation" (unpublished Master's Thesis), p. 59.

The language school not only provided linguistic instruction, but helped to maintain social solidarity and sustain community morale. Tanaka points out that the attitude of the Japanese toward establishing and maintaining these schools has varied with the attitude of the whites toward the Japanese. R. D. McKenzie cites the testimony of a Japanese pastor, who declared that the change in Japanese attitude could be traced to the passage of the "Exclusion Law."[22] Before that time, the cleric said, Japanese parents thought that Japanese language instruction was not needed and that only English was useful. Even the old folks were trying to improve their English. But after that law was passed, parents became uneasy about American life and yearned to return home, leaving the children on American soil. In order to be able to correspond with one another in the same language, some joined their children in the study of written Japanese. These are the motives behind the fact that language schools sprang up wherever there was a Japanese community of over fifty families.

The following item from the *New World Sun*, a Japanese newspaper published daily in San Francisco, furnishes recent evidence of the "social setting" of the language school:

> The peaceful hamlet of Alameda is in a turmoil, all resulting from the language school question. Heretofore, there had been two schools, one controlled by the Christian Church and the other presumably independent but more or less affiliated with the Buddhist temple. Because of economic difficulties and the desire to merge with each other so that Alameda may have only one language school which the community as a whole may support, the school affiliated with the Christian church was dissolved, and it was understood generally that its pupils would be admitted into the other language school. The parents of the remaining school, however, seem to have raised objections . . .
>
> From the conversations of the second generation, the situation seems to be deplorable. The parents may have their grievances and politics to thrash out, but it seems to be a poor place to make the language school the battleground. The noble ideals that are spouted under the cloak of educational benefits cannot be appreciated by such controversies, since the young children are being made the scape-goats and are being deprived of the opportunity of further pursuing their studies . . .

* * *

[22] *Oriental Exclusion*, p. 172.

Language school politics are not new. They have disturbed many communities in the past, only resulting in increased financial burdens. Our elders are making great sacrifices for the second generation with large investments in the language schools. The thinking young people, however, will have little sympathy for them, because they are wantonly wasting money merely to satisfy their ego, pride, and grievances by maintaining many schools where one would suffice.

The present problem is a good lesson for all of us. In the near future, Oakland may face a similar situation. There are three schools there: the M. E. Church, the Wanto Gakuen, and the Showa Gakuen, an affiliate of the Buddhist Church. It is obvious that the second generation are not going to stand for such financial burdens when they have a voice in the management.

It will require courage on the part of the young people to upset the tradition that their parents are establishing through feuds, but the undesirable task will have to be undertaken to bring order out of the present uneconomical situation. It is for the young people to study and begin to map out their programme and policies. A repetition or a continuation of the present arrangement is most undesirable.[23]

Attendance at language school not only differentiates the American-Japanese from other Americans, but also results in certain speech difficulties, if Japanese language is learned well, which affect his personality and outlook. A person learning Japanese at home and at language school and speaking it in Japanese fashion, is likely to speak English somewhat poorly, and to be pointed out as one "having English trouble." "This" becomes "dis," "the" becomes "dee," there is difficulty with "l" sounds, and frequently definite articles are dropped or plurals omitted. Such defective English speech is not so noticeable when the Japanese is associating entirely with his own people, but when he converses with native white Americans, he is painfully aware of his peculiarities of speech and hesitates to talk for fear of being embarrassed.[24]

An older *nisei* university student said that the Japanese coming to the universities frequently worried a great deal about their lack of facility in using English. They found that they had very poor

[23]*New World Sun*, January 21, 1936.

[24]Several informants did not attend the Japanese language school regularly while attending the public grade and high schools. Upon completion of their high-school work, they went to Japan in order to learn the language. Within two years time they had a good fluency in speaking, reading, and writing Japanese. Since they had used English almost exclusively before going to Japan, their English was well spoken without any trace of Japanese accent.

vocabularies and were reluctant to join in class discussion. This is especially true of the *kibei,* for, as previously indicated, they have essentially the same speech problems as the first generation. One thing which marks a person as a *kibei* is a combination of facility with the Japanese language and a "tainted" English.

To the *nisei* the Japanese language is a set of symbols which is sometimes considered as a mark of inferiority, at others as a necessity in gaining a livelihood. But to the Old World people, their language is a symbol of the Japanese "spirit." They are more concerned with the "spiritual" aspect of their language than are Europeans. One *issei* mother said that the Japanese in America do not like to have other people try to learn Japanese. Strangers mispronounce it, and if they make an error, contrary to what Europeans do in Japan, they laugh. To Japanese this is sacrilege. Also, they have a defensive reaction similar to other foreigners in an inferior status and so are sensitive to errors in pronunciation of their mother tongue.

The transmission of the language to the child is felt by the parents to be one method of aiding the Japanese to achieve their world mission of extending through time their cultural influence. An older informant gave it as his opinion that the American-born children to the "nth" generation must learn Japanese. When asked why, he answered that there was no other way by which " we may keep our connections with Japan." The point was pushed a little further to see if he felt that this was necessary; he admitted that it might not be, but that this was the way the Japanese felt about it, and that he felt it was in the long view desirable. That this view is a common one is suggested by the fact that many *nisei* parents answered "yes" and "positively" when asked if they were going to teach Japanese to the third generation.[25]

It is clear, therefore, that the language school was a community

[25] *New World Sun,* January 1, 1936, p. 3. The total number asked is not reported.

function organized to meet a persistent problem.[26] Not all the *nisei* attended language school, but most of them did; those who did not go heard tempting tales of "fun in school," of the "good times" and great picnics given for those who attended. In Seattle about 1,200 children went to these schools in 1936. When a language school held a picnic, the family went as a unit. At one such picnic some 3,000 people were present and one street-car conductor estimated that there must be "all of ten thousand Japanese up there on the hill." It was an impressive community function.

The language school in its community activities was one way in which the American-born child was sensitized to Japanese activities and a Japanese world.[27]

Traditional Obligations

The close-knit character of the Japanese-American community assures that all deviations from the accepted mores are soon known and "noted." One who has penetrated the more intimate aspects of Japanese community life hears much talk of a "blacklist" of persons. Such ostracism, for instance, befell a young man who attempted to organize a union among Japanese workers. When news of his efforts was disseminated in the community, all Japanese employers refused to give him a job. Asked why the Americanized Japanese did not organize to counter this informal, but effective, social control, one *nisei* declared that he himself could not afford to risk inclusion on the blacklist, which was a very potent mechanism. Though inquiry did not reveal the existence of an actual, formal blacklist, one young woman went so far as to say that the community had detectives and "people watching" all the time, so that it was necessary for one to be very careful.

Even the connection between isolated groups and the larger

[26]The following are a few titles of articles in the *New World Sun*: "Young Buddhist Ass'n Oratorical Contest in Japanese to Encourage Use of Language with *Nisei*," December 29, 1936; "Print New Test to Fit *Nisei* Mode of Life," January 5, 1937; "White Boy Learns Nihongo," August 27, 1936; "Foreign Language Problems to be Discussed at Capitol," April 23, 1936.

[27]As to how it has functioned toward creating community solidarity, see Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, pp. 107-8.

communities, before the evacuation, was surprisingly close, and consequently very effective in disseminating "news." In the Eastern metropolitan areas there was an unusually large amount of current information about activities on the West Coast, and anything that happened in the East did not take long to reach the West. In Chicago the writer was amazed to learn that local *nisei* who had never been outside the city proved to be surprisingly well posted about conditions in California.

The threat of placing a person on a blacklist is a rather strong threat and has undoubtedly been effective in many situations. The idea of the blacklist is just another way of saying that all members of the community are censoring one's behaviour. If one's behaviour is defined as undesirable, then the whole community reacts as if a formal organization were directing the response to the undesired behaviour.

There are certain community responsibilities which are defined as obligations, the fulfilment of which establishes a family's reputation. Without the threat of a blacklisting some obligations are fulfilled carefully so as to guard position and reputation within the local social group,[28] and it is the family, rather than the individual, that is expected to fulfil them. The head of the family is the one who makes certain that these obligations are met in appropriate fashion, although much of the work involved is left to the wife. Thus, it is not necessary that the whole family attend the funeral of a family friend, but at least one member should be present. When the responsible position of family headship devolves upon junior members who are less familiar with the family obligations, they usually consult with an old family friend.

In Japan, obligations and rights were reciprocal. If a person was required to pay *koden* (a money gift of condolence at the time

[28]At the time this material was gathered, 1936-8, *Suye Mura* had not been published. A careful reading of John Embree's report of these obligations in the peasant village of Suye shows that a greater amount of discussion about obligations and responsibilities has been permitted in America than would be deemed seemly in Japan. Also a rivalry factor has entered into the discharge of these observances in this country, whereas Embree reports only a little rivalry among social groups larger than families. See *Suye Mura*, pp. 29, 40, 228.

of a funeral), he had a right to expect *koden* or some other requital in return. Such reciprocal obligations exist between the individual and his family, between family and family, and between the community and the nation. We are concerned here only with the individual and family obligations to other families and the community.

The major portion of these obligations is related to the "three great events" of life — birth, marriage, and death — when, as the Japanese say, the individual comes to the social foreground and is "publicly exposed." Since these occasions are usually the subject of community or friendly celebration, a whole cluster of traditional obligations attends them.[29] But in addition to these principal present-giving events there are countless other circumstances calling for the exchange of obligations. An important problem faced by the *nisei* seeking to adjust to their American environment is the decision whether to accept or break with the observance of these manifold obligations.

The birth of a child is undoubtedly a joyous occasion in all families, but in the Japanese family it is the signal for a great celebration, with festal foods, rice wine, and an exchange of felicitations. It is deemed the best opportunity to demonstrate one's concern for the welfare of a friend, and the more closely one is associated with the parents the larger the gift is expected to be. The various presents given by friends and relations may range from small money gifts or parts of a layette to gifts as considerable as $50 to $100. Money that is given is regarded as going directly to the newborn child. A baby born to a popular couple or to a couple needing assistance is likely to receive sufficient money to pay the hospital expenses as well as to provide clothing during infancy. To fail to indicate interest on this occasion by the fulfilment of an obligation is a social offence which cannot be condoned, and which gives rise to much comment and speculation. This social compulsion has been the cause of many controversies among the *nisei*.

As in Japan, much of the gift exchange is not in money, and

[29]See Chapter VI, "Problems of Marriage."

gifts which are unused or impractical may be used by the recipient in payment of obligations of his own. One *nisei* mother stated that she had amassed a chestful of things which she could not use and planned to pass on to others.

Like other peoples, the Japanese regard birth and marriage as occasions of greatest happiness, and death as a cause for greatest grief: for death not only involves personal loss but necessitates rearrangement of relationships and a consequent shift in responsilities. Presentation of a gift to the bereaved family is a token of sharing in its sorrow. The family representative at a funeral leaves money bearing the name of the family making the gift, and the sums given range from $1 upward. One *nisei* declared that at the death of his father the largest single amount given was $20, contributed by a closely related, prosperous family, and that the total received from all friends and relations was about $400. Another *nisei* described a tragic accident in which his brother was killed. Because of the publicity and sentiment aroused, the family received gifts amounting to $1,500. About a year later his father died, and the family received only $200.

The recipients of a funeral gift are not supposed to use all the money received. As a token of appreciation about half of it should be returned directly or indirectly. The custom is described by one informant:

> To funerals it is customary for the Japanese to bring their *koden*. This creates an obligation. The recipients usually repay it by donating something to an organization such as the Lotus Club or Japanese Association, or to a church. I suppose they should pay back about one-half of what they receive. Every so often you will note in the newspapers that Mr. So-and-So contributed to such a fund. This usually means that he is paying off some kind of an obligation. Sometimes such a payment may be made after graduation from college or after recovery from an illness.[30]

[30]This reference calls attention to other auspicious occasions when happiness is to be shared symbolically by making a gift or donation. Many clubs do not have a regular system of dues or membership fees, but rely entirely for income upon this traditional system of sharing upon occasions of joy. Marriage is an occasion on which many make donations to a church in addition to presenting a gift to the minister.

The Japanese custom of paying back obligations is based on the idea that a person should always share things. It is bad to keep things to oneself, and, to be completely right, one should always give just a little more than one receives. This means that obligations may keep pyramiding until it is difficult to get on in the world.

Buddhist families remain in mourning for forty-nine days, the last of which is commemorated annually by the making of contributions in return for gifts received at the time of the funeral. On the last day of mourning it is customary also to send a box of candy or some item of food to those who gave presents. Similarly, Christian families hold memorial services for the deceased, sometimes as long as thirty days after the interment, and mark the anniversary of such events as the occasion for a variety of donations. If a family moves from a community leaving an individual member behind, that member continues the obligations of his family. In addition, if no member were left behind by the departing family, they usually discharged their obligations by mail.

Obviously the traditional system of duties and imperatives did not foresee the unsettled circumstances in which the immigrant Japanese found themselves in America, and the result was that what had not been an unreasonable burden in Japan here became often unbearable. Theoretically, of course, in the long run one should receive as much as one gives, but in practice the system does not always operate equitably. In the static society of old Japan the system of gift exchange was based on the notions of equivalence and co-operation, but in America the competitive element of "keeping-up-with-the-Joneses" has often sharply unsettled the balance of gifts and receipts. Other factors which tended to unbalance the score were the breakdown of the traditional system of control and the non-observance of obligations by the more Americanized members of the community.

Since one of the principal ways by which a family maintains its status in the community is through the creation and fulfilment of obligations, it is not unnatural that keen rivalry in the observance of these obligations should have developed in the comparatively

fluid social conditions of America.[31] Obligations may mount beyond the means of the family, but in order to maintain its status the family will fulfil them even though it means skimping on food and other essentials. This rivalry is most pronounced when gifts are expected to be costly, as at Christmas or weddings. The following observations on this problem are found rather frequently.

The gift situation is very pathetic. Some of the farmers I know down in the valley are eating just rice and pickles so that they may stay off relief. Yet at Christmas time they will give sets of dishes which cost about ten dollars.

* * *

The Christmas problem is bad. It is customary to send very elaborate and expensive gifts, and if, unwittingly, you don't send something that is just as expensive, the receivers will comment on it and word will spread. I never could understand, when I was a little girl, why mother opened the packages when they came, and then wrapped them up again. I always used to ask her to leave them tied up until Christmas, but she insisted on opening them. Now I know she did this to determine their value and see if her gift was equal to the one received.

* * *

As a marriage gift I received a $25 Mix-Master from a family which has six daughters. It had the $25 price tag on it, but I suppose this was an oversight. In any case, every time anything very important happens in that family, I am supposed to give in return something of as much or greater value. Soon the first of those girls will be graduating from college, and I will have to remember them at that time. Then they will be getting married, and I am supposed to remember that. If the daughters have babies, I must remember that. If the father dies, I have to remember that, or if any of them are sick I am supposed to go to the hospital with some bottles of fruit juice. That is how complicated the exchange of gifts can become.

The ramifications of the gift-exchange system sometimes make it necessary to maintain a calendar of events or a "gift book" to keep

[31]This observation and the supporting materials may appear to contradict Embree's report in *Suye Mura*, in which little mention is made of this social rivalry. But his study is of one Japanese village, and describes mainly the *buraku* and *kumi*, which are smaller social units within a village. These levels of organization are characterized by primary relationships, and life and work are suffused with co-operative modes of activity. But where life grows more complicated, and social stratification appears, there is ruthless rivalry. It is true that in America many of the old forms of co-operation have been carried over and are still operative within Japanese-American society, but in the process of settling down in an environment in which competition is the keynote and the traditional controls are not so effective, the rivalrous modes of behaviour have become conspicuous.

track of what has been exchanged and the dates on which gifts or donations must be made. Though children are often not well acquainted with the friends of the father, the obligations of the parent are often passed down through the generations, and some sort of permanent record is usually kept.[32]

The Japanese New Year, like its Chinese counterpart, has been extensively discussed, but there appears to be no unanimity of opinion as to its purpose. Some describe it as a collective commemoration of the birthday of all the people, others as a general celebration at which one pays off accumulated obligations. In any case, New Year is an accepted occasion for the recognition of obligations. Some writers assert that since the adoption of Christmas in Japan, the December holiday has superseded New Year as a day for the exchange of gifts, and the older holiday has assumed other significance. But discussions with recent residents of Japan lead the writer to doubt the validity of these assertions. For years the Japanese government employed propaganda to show the extent of its Westernization. The adoption of Santa Claus, spiritually and commercially, would be ostensible proof of intensive Westernization. The facts, however, do not confirm the claim that "Santa" is widely known in Japan, and the gifts purchased by the Japanese people are still essentially the gifts of the traditional New Year's day.

The Japanese in America have continued to celebrate the New Year, but the accepted and customary behaviour at New Year's is to call at the home of friends or of any person to whom one is obligated, or in some other way to symbolize one's indebtedness. A *nisei* told the writer that he regularly received a small cheque at New Year's from an *issei* for whom he was holding title to some

[32]John Embree does not analyse the gift exchange to which reference is here made. Nevertheless, his listing of gift exchanges is important because almost nothing had been theretofore published about these important modes of Japanese behaviour. See *Suye Mura*, pp. 153-7.

Several correspondents have suggested since the evacuation crisis that many of the customs the *nisei* took over from their parents, such as gift exchange, will not be revived after permanent settlement has been regained. But in one relocation centre parents of a new-born babe received forty-five gifts.

property. If a person has obtained a job through another, it is proper to call upon the benefactor at New Year's. Such a visit is not only an acknowledgement of gratitude for past favours, but a symbol of friendship as well. Of course, New Year is the time for festivities, and many special foods and ceremonial drinks such as *sake*, served in special cups, are offered to the callers. It is the duty of the husband, if tradition is followed, to make the calls while the wife stays at home and serves the guests. This interchange of visits may last three or four days. An older *nisei* said he visited sixty-four homes in one day, starting early in the day and finishing his calls late at night. The custom corresponds roughly to the American "open house." The etiquette attending these visits, however, is illustrated by the following account by a *nisei* who had certain family obligations to fulfil at New Year's:

In accordance with the custom of the Japanese community I went to the homes of all the family friends to pay my respects and wish them well during the coming year. First I went to Mr. K's. My uncle and aunt were there when I arrived, and I felt a bit worried as to what they would think about my going to K's before coming to their place.[33] I went in, removed my hat and coat according to Hoyle, and then turned about to give them the formal greeting. They returned my greetings with uncommon formality. One would not have thought I was grown up as they:

Uncle: "You look thin. You'd better be careful you don't get sick."

Mr. K.: "We'll have to get him settled. He'll get fatter then."[34]

Uncle: "Yes, my boy's become heavy since he got married."

Mr. K.: "I suppose your wife's tagging along to keep an eye on your drinking?"

Uncle: "Well, I've got about fifteen places to go today, and I can't afford to be too foggy while driving."

[33]One is supposed to go to the most important places first. In this instance the informant erred in having gone to a friend's home before visiting a relative. Because he had other "more important" engagements later, he could not stay at his uncle's home more than a few minutes, so the next day he made a special return visit there to compensate for his error and for not staying as long as he had at the friend's home. Incidentally, in Japan the wife would not likely, as here, be out visiting with her husband.

[34]Whenever the Japanese say "we ought to get him settled" or "we shall fix up something nice for him," they are referring to an arranged marriage. The notion of "well-being" is usually associated with being settled."

Mr. K.: "It's nice having your daughter-in-law stay at home so that you can go out."[35]

My uncle and aunt left at about this time. Shortly after their son, A., came in.

Mr. K.: "Your folks were here only a minute ago. They just left."

A.: "Well, I can't go around with them. If I did, even the same *sake* would taste badly . . . "

The many visits required at New Year's prove quite a task, for at each place of call one must eat a bit and take at least a few small drinks. The conversation quoted above is typical. A person who does not "make the rounds" will be questioned as to his failure, and risks being censored as "too Americanized."

Indeed, it may be said in conclusion that the nature of the individual's compliance with any of the traditional family and community oblgations is an important criterion by which the *nisei* are judged to be pursuing American or Japanese ways.

Deferential Attitudes

The two preceding sections have shown how the traditions of Japanese community life have been expressed in the varied activities of both parents and children and in the fulfilment of traditional obligations. But it is important to note that these activities were carried on and the obligations fulfilled with a great deal of concern for certain proprieties which are a significant aspect of the heritage brought over from the Old World. These proprieties prescribe not only what must be done but also the way in which it should be done, and the way of doing it varies in accordance with the status of the individual or individuals concerned. In other words, the activities were carried on within a system of deferential attitudes, and individuals could be classed according to the deference which they received or the prestige which they secured in community affairs.

It is generally known that the Japanese are highly aware of variations in prestige and deference. This attitude, more highly developed than the American, was one of the reasons for their lack

[35]In this family the eldest son lived with his parents, and the daughter-in-law therefore fulfilled the traditional role of the woman of the house.

of success in creating favourable propaganda for themselves in America. For example, a goodwill mission was sent to America in 1938, headed by the editor of one of the largest newspapers in Japan, the Osaka *Mainichi*. It was assumed that because his position was one of great prestige he would get along well with American newsmen and be well received. But he was barely able to speak English and had no ingenuity in explaining Japan's policy so that it might be clearly understood. The various clubs before which he appeared laughed at his English and thought his stereotyped answers to questions absurd. A young Japanese who accompanied him as his secretary had been educated in America, spoke English fluently, smiled in the American manner, dressed as an American, and was capable of meeting Americans as an American. But the secretary, who might at least have avoided creating new antagonisms, was kept in the background because he did not have the prestige which the editor had in Japan. This mission was recognized as a failure.

In terms of prestige and deference, individuals within the Japanese community, and more generally within Japanese-American society, may be grouped in a descending scale ranging from "high" to relatively "low" prestige. The Japanese Consul was the official representative of the Imperial Japanese Government, and as such he was the person in the Japanese communities to whom most deference was paid. He was the guardian of Japanese interests. When speeches to American audiences were to be made, or when a Japanese community participated with the community at large in a public event, such as the opening of the San Francisco Bay bridge, the Japanese Consul was an important person, for he was recognized and accepted by the native Americans.

The Consul would usually be present at community meetings where the *nisei* wished to pay their respect to their Japanese heritage and to the first generation.[36] He was the chief symbol of authority

[36]The role of the Consul deserves far more investigation. Theoretically, the attitude of any one individual toward the Consul would be a clue to the extent of his identification with Japan and conversely lack of identification with America. Why should the Consul be present at any affairs of American citizens of Japanese parentage? As far as the writer recalls the literature dealing with immigrant groups, no one has attempted to describe the role of the Consul.

and identification with the Japanese in Japan, and hence when a community was under the jurisdiction of a likeable Consul, it was felt that things went smoothly. If a consul did not speak English well or failed to appreciate American ways of acting, he was not prepared to act effectively as a go-between for the Japanese and American groups, or between the second-generation and other Japanese. Because of his prestige and influence, much authority and deference centred about him and his office.

One *nisei* told of how difficult it was for several *nisei* who had become Communists to hold jobs. They were known to the office of the Consul, and as soon as it was found that some Japanese had given them employment, pressure was brought to bear and they lost their jobs. It was the task of the Consul to keep the Japanese in good standing with the Americans, and it is easy to see how a charge of Communism might have disturbed those relations. In addition, the Consul was the guardian of Japanese traditions and beliefs, even though located abroad, and for a Japanese to become a Communist was traitorous, for Communism is defined as a threat to the traditional mode of life of the Japanese nation.[37]

The second group, next in prestige to the Consul, was composed of the business representatives of the large Japanese corporations, called *kaisha-in*, meaning "company people." Both the Consuls and the *kaisha* group were transients, usually staying in one city about two years. They generally had a higher status than the immigrants with the Americans. They were paid good salaries and could afford to live in better districts and have better cars.[38] Their presence was much discussed in the larger urban communities, and even to some extent in the rural areas. The *kaisha-in* provided one more point of comparison by which the *nisei* came to see that they themselves were not Japanese in the strictest sense of the term.

[37]For a statement of the concern of the Japanese about "dangerous thought," see Reed, *Kokutai: A Study of Certain Sacred and Secular Aspects of Japanese Nationalism.*

[38]Note that the presence of the Consul and the *kaisha-in* tended to round out the traditional class structure of Japan. In America they had the status of the upper class in Japan. They were, however, usually of middle-class status at home and played the role of the upper class only in America.

The following excerpts give some evidence of the feelings toward the *kaisha-in*:

I get along all right with the *kaisha-in* but others do not. They stick together and do not want to mingle with the other Japanese, and so do not take part in the community life. I have the idea that the *kaisha-in* come from a superior class in Japan, and so they look down upon the townspeople. One has to be high up to get these jobs.

* * *

In Seattle there were three groups: the *kaisha*, and the proletariat group, or middle class, and then a very poor immigrant group. Between the *kaisha* and the others there was a very distinct line — a black heavy line.

* * *

As to the *kaisha-in*, some of them are good to me. They are smart and level-headed on the whole. Some might be snobbish, but they have a right to be. In the first place, you have to be somebody. The *kaisha-in* come from a different class of people from the townspeople here. The ones who came as immigrants couldn't make a go of it in Japan, so they came here. But the *kaisha-in* stayed and came over as business men.

* * *

The association between the *kaisha-in* and the second generation is not very intimate. It may be due to financial differences. The *kaisha-in* considered the second generation to be children of immigrant families and not having a very good standing. There is also the language difficulty. The corporation-people speak the very finest Japanese. It is true that in Los Angeles there is a better relationship. There the *nisei* seem to be different and do not have the habit of showing so much deference to the *kaisha-in*.

It is evident that the *kaisha-in* were an important element in Japanese-American life, even though their number in any community was small. One reason for their importance was that they were potential employers: an American branch of a large Japanese corporation was one place where a *nisei* could secure a position without being handicapped by his racial features. Salaries were small, but employment in such offices did give a certain feeling of security, social as well as economic. Thus it was inevitable that there should be much discussion of the *kaisha* group since they were concerned with efforts to earn a living.

Since the *kaisha-in* looked upon themselves, and were looked upon by others, as a superior group, they were isolated from the immigrants and their children in Japanese community activities. They were a symbol of success to the immigrants and it was usually

assumed that they merited their superior position. There were some instances, however, particularly among the younger *nisei*, of attempts to associate more closely with the *kaisha-in*:

> There is little social competition among the older group of the second generation. Among the younger group, though, some competition is becoming quite noticeable. They are trying to associate more with the *kaisha-in*. One second-generation mother I know is teaching her little girl to distinguish between a corporation-person and an ordinary second generation. Ordinarily this woman is rather coarse, but when she is around those people she tries to be very refined and acts entirely differently. When she is with her little girl and they meet such people on the street, she starts talking very differently and telling the little girl how she must act and speak in front of the *kaisha-in*. Already the little girl has learned to distinguish between the two groups, and she uses the honorific forms for the *kaisha-in* and leaves them off for the *nisei*.

Among the immigrants, the third group in the Japanese community, there appears to have been little differentiation of prestige except on the basis of service to the community. Miyamoto states:

> When we note the lack of any capitalists or an upper middle class in this community, and when we see the vagueness and the relative smallness of a true working-class group, we can understand the remarkable predominance of a single class interest. Indeed, in talking to the people in the community, one feels the absence of class consciousness among them, at least on the basis of wealth, and a reporter on a Japanese newspaper to whom I put the problem had, at first, difficulty in understanding what I meant . . . There is some confusion among the people of the community as to what is the basis of class differentiation. In the past, status has been determined by the amount of social service rendered by the individual to society. However, the tendency to distinguish classes on the basis of economic success is becoming more prominent. It is probable that this attitude would have been more prevalent in the community today had there developed a greater economic differentiation.[39]

Despite the small amount of differentiation within the group of immigrants, for our purpose it is significant to note that the *nisei* have found it necessary to make various adjustments toward the others in the group. The *kaisha-in* and *issei* were definitely oriented both in sentiments and activities toward Japan rather than America. Hence in any joint community activities the *nisei* have had to adapt

[39]Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, p. 71. The "single class interest" to which Miyamoto refers is that of the small shopowners who constituted 46 per cent. of the income earners of the Seattle community in 1935. The criterion which we have used for discussing classes in this section is essentially in terms of deference and prestige.

themselves to situations in which Japanese attitudes and norms of conduct prevailed.

In the deferential framework of Japanese community life, the *nisei* have been looked upon as the group to whom least deference is due. In the first place, the *nisei* are the youngest group; all social systems of the Orient place a great deal of prestige upon age, and this set of attitudes has been transplanted to America. In the second place the *nisei* have been considered socially inferior because they are not Japanese in the strict sense of that term. As we have pointed out earlier in this chapter, the *nisei* culturally are in part American, and this fact invokes traditional in-group-out-group attitudes. Not all *nisei* are even registered by their parents as Japanese citizens, and as they become more Americanized, they also become less Japanese. The Japanese are intensely group-conscious and allow no compromise in the status of an individual: he either belongs to the group or he is outside of it. This is seen most clearly when a *nisei* goes to Japan and is confronted with the traditional behaviour toward the stranger, the outsider. In fact this feeling is even more intense toward the *nisei* because they do look like Japanese; they are referred to by such terms as *ainoko* or "half-breed." If a *nisei* should happen to speak English in public while in Japan, some adult male is likely to give a two-hour lecture on why one should speak only Japanese. And when the Japanese come to America, they display these same attitudes toward the *nisei* but in a more courteous and subtle manner.

This system of deferential attitudes is one of the most significant factors within the Japanese family and community life.[40] It is linked with a system of honorifics in the written and spoken language; it involves behaviour which *nisei* are unable to learn well enough to feel at ease in situations where much deference is involved; it cuts a deep, clear line between the American and the Japanese ways of life.

[40]For diagrams on the traditional class structure of Japan, see Ninomiya, "Inquiry Concerning the Origin, Development and Present Situation of the Eta in Relation to the History of Social Classes in Japan." *Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan,* December 1933.

These two ways of life are in some respects not so fundamentally different, and it is likely that the differences will become less clear after the influence of the first generation of immigrants is no longer potent in family and community affairs. The distinction, however, very likely will persist through the second generation, and possibly even through the third or longer. It is likely to serve as the rationalization which supports minority group status and self-conceptions. At present the conflict between the two ways of life, which no American-born Japanese can avoid, has left its mark on the personality of every *nisei*. The difficulties in being a Japanese American will bring home the problem recurringly to individuals and groups. These experiences cannot be set aside easily, and this distinction between two ways of life is often the basis for the dramatic nature of many experiences, especially during the earlier years of a life-career.

The general organization and activities of Japanese community life as given in this chapter could be filled out in considerable detail. No effort has been made to show how traits brought from Japan are now in process of modification.[41] As Miyamoto has pointed out, Japanese communities contain within themselves the factors which will tend to bring about their disintegration. But it is quite evident that the community of which selected aspects have been presented is only Japanese in a limited sense. It is to be more accurately described by the term Japanese-American, and the factors of disintegration to which Miyamoto refers are the factors which in time will lessen the Japanese character of the communities of 1940 and make them more definitely American, if they are ever reconstructed after hostilities with Japan cease.

Numerous factors can be listed as ones which have served as part of the driving energy of social change in the life of Japanese immigrants in America. There undoubtedly were many individualists among the immigrants, people who were interested in getting away from the old, circumscribing modes of co-operation imposed upon

[41]Some such material will be noted later on. A detailed analysis of this problem has not been attempted because background materials are inadequate. This deficiency is made up in part by the appearance of Embree's *Suye Mura*.

them at home.[42] Variation in education, attitudes of permanent residence, and towards Americanization all served, as well as the changing economic system of which they were a part, to pare away gradually whatever Old World attitudes might have been established with the beginning of the Family-Building Period in 1907.

There were, of course, other American institutions besides Christian churches which have introduced new ideas into the family and community life of the Japanese. These are chiefly the public school, publications in the form of newspapers and books, and recreational institutions, including the moving picture theatre and organized athletics, all of which have worked mainly through the Americans of Japanese ancestry.

Finally, reference must be made to the problems created chiefly by antagonistic attitudes of the Americans of European ancestry. Occupational discrimination against the Japanese has created urgent problems and set the families and communities to working in certain directions. The problems of occupational choice and the cultural differences between the two generations are complicated considerably as a result of discrimination. These problems are an integral part of Japanese family and community life, and it is to more detailed consideration of these that we now turn.

[42]In *Suye Mura*, p. 174, Embree refers to certain people as "misfits," due to emphasis upon co-operation. "the most striking type of misfit is an individualist." It is well known that social and psychological factors operate to select emigrants. For a statement regarding physical selection among the Japanese, see Shapiro, *Migration and Environment*.

Chapter IV

THE VOCATIONAL PROBLEM

THERE are numerous factors limiting the careers of the American-born Japanese, but the principal one is the social discrimination which restricts their choice of vocation. To be an American-born Japanese is to belong to a group that has a peculiar vocational problem, although the exact nature and the extent of the problem may vary from person to person.

There is a singular lack of adequate statistical material on the occupational activities of the American-born Japanese. In 1930 E. K. Strong began his survey of the Japanese in California, based upon a 10 per cent. sample of all Japanese in that state. At that time the sample showed 79.7 per cent. of the *nisei* males to be students, and consequently the sample of employed Japanese consisted mainly of *issei* males. No adequate statements could be made about the American-born, for the sample covered only 114 out of an estimated possible 2,500. Hence Strong does not separate the two generations in all details of analysis, but his work does suggest that the vocational choices of the American-born would be determined by the same factors which set the limits of the parents' occupations. The general characteristics of the 1940 census data, when a large number of *nisei* were of working age, bear out this assumption. The differences between the two generations as revealed in the census data are shown in Table III.

The conclusion that second-generation income earners are following the occupational lines of the first generation is not altogether justified, however, and can be accepted only with modifications. The former are finding it possible to round out various services for their own communities; they are extending lines which the first generation developed. Today an adequate sample would have to cover the entire United States so as to take into consideration those who have made eastern connections in the field of their specialties and who are no longer dependent upon Japanese communities and this would alter the picture.

TABLE III

Occupations of Japanese Workers by Nativity in California and Washington, 1940

Occupation	California percentage			Washington percentage		
	Total*	Native-born	Foreign-born	Total*	Native-born	Foreign-born
Agriculture	47.80	44.26	50.37	30.23	32.97	28.63
Forestry and fishery	1.80	1.02	2.38	0.89	1.08	0.78
Food and kindred products	1.47	1.00	1.83	2.17	2.23	2.13
Printing, publishing and allied industries	0.62	0.64	0.67	0.99	1.28	0.96
Apparel and other fabricated textile products	.....	.....	.....	1.73	1.70	1.74
Sawmills and planing mills	.....	.....	.....	4.48	3.81	4.87
Railroads (including repair shops) and railway express	.....	.....	.....	4.83	2.94	5.93
Wholesale trade	4.66	6.04	3.64	4.09	5.42	3.32
Food and dairy product stores, milk retailing	10.16	13.13	7.96	10.02	10.80	9.57
Eating and drinking places	3.89	2.80	4.71	6.48	5.38	7.12
Other retail trade	4.03	4.32	3.81	5.39	5.67	5.23
Finance, insurance, and real estate	1.11	0.61	1.48	2.66	1.61	3.27
Automobile storage, rental and repair	0.63	1.10	0.29	.....	.....	.....
Domestic service	10.88	12.69	9.54	4.78	8.81	2.42
Hotels and lodging places	1.95	0.77	2.82	6.37	2.61	8.57
Laundering, cleaning, and dyeing services	2.69	2.65	2.71	4.80	3.27	5.69
Miscellaneous personal services	1.56	1.59	1.51	1.91	1.16	2.35
Professional and related services	2.72	2.66	2.76	2.77	3.27	2.47
TOTAL	95.97	95.28	96.48	94.59	94.01	95.05

*Both sexes included in total.

Employed persons— Total	40,374	17,165	23,209	6,546	2,417	4,129
Employed in industries selected	38,378	16,354	22,384	6.191	2,272	3,919

SOURCE: Adapted from Bureau of Census tabulations made for Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, John H. Tolan (Chairman), *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and others from Prohibited Military Zones*, p. 108-9.

Dependence upon the Japanese community for income is a part of the economic limitation encountered by the Japanese. Many of the *nisei* have received training in school, some for occupations not found in a Japanese community. Strong asked people who had graduated between 1920 and 1930 from larger California universities the following question: to what extent are you working in an occupation for which you were trained? In the replies 79 per cent. stated that they were doing work for which they were educated.[1] But Strong did not attempt to determine upon whom these people were dependent for their incomes, and this is the critical point. Table IV was compiled from 101 cases in which sufficient information could be secured to answer the questions: (1) are you engaged in work for which you were educated, and (2) who gives you your pay-cheque, or who are your customers?

TABLE IV

TRAINING AND OCCUPATION OF NISEI WITH RESPECT TO SOURCE OF INCOME

	Training and occupation			*No special*	
Source of income	Same	Related	Unrelated	*training*	Total
Japanese	20	5	6	10	41
American	10	4	8	18	40
Mixed	11	0	4	5	20
TOTAL	41	9	18	33	101

NOTE: If a person receives his income from a Japanese garage owner who depends upon Negro, Filipino, and white patrons as well as Japanese, then the employee is listed as dependent upon the Japanese. The employer would be listed as "mixed." Farmers were listed as dependent upon the American group.

[1]Strong, *Second-Generation Japanese Problem*, p. 223.

The above figures indicate that 73.5 per cent. of those who had received some form of training in college or vocational school were working in the field for which they had prepared or in a related field. This result is not so satisfactory, however, upon further investigation. A college graduate who had majored in economics and business, for example, may be doing some form of clerical work in a produce market where he has no future, and yet he is recorded as being in the "same field." More significant yet is the source of income: 61 per cent. were dependent upon the Japanese and mixed groups. As more and more *nisei* reach the working age, the problem becomes more acute, for the Japanese communities are limited and the mixed racial groups have distinct limitations for extending economic activities.

Pressure within the Japanese communties continued to increase as an increasing number of *nisei* grew into the working-age groups. There were increasing difficulties during the 1930 decade. Vocational problems, along with marriages, were the focal point around which conversations and group discussions revolved. As a result of experiences in searching for jobs and in analyzing their experiences, the *nisei* came to formulate certain conceptions of the vocational problem and how they should adjust it. From the *nisei* point of view, what is the "vocational problem?"[2]

The *nisei* believe that they should be received into the various occupational fields, if they wish to enter them, in just the same way as are other Americans. But occupational discrimination has been experienced by those who have tried to enter a field in which there

[2]No research workers have yet called attention to the vocational problems of the American-born Japanese women. This aspect of Japanese life in America warrants further investigation. In general it may be said that the women participate in the general discrimination and problems outlined in this chapter, and in addition face certain problems because of traditional attitudes toward women. As has already been indicated, the status of women is changing rather rapidly, and this puts both the parents and the young women under considerable strain. Undoubtedly this strain is intensified because of economic limitations. If parents do not send a daughter to college, what is to be done with her until marriage? If daughters go to college, of what particular advantage will it be? Then there are many complaints about the women being too "Americanized" so that they do not want to help on the farms and about rural parents, who wish to marry their daughters to white-collar workers in the cities. There are conspicuous differences between many of the American-born women and their mothers, and these differences give rise to significant problems.

is racial prejudice as in the case of pharmacy or office work. The resultant frustration has widened out from individual experience to group concern, for if one *nisei* cannot enter a field, then it is felt that no *nisei* can. This is, of course, a collective problem and does not necessarily mean that all individuals have experienced discrimination and frustration. Yet individuals are aware of the fact that they are restricted — that they are Japanese. One informant stated: "My employment is limited. Not many of the first generation have been sufficiently successful to hire the second generation. They are in markets, dye works, hotels, and all these are mostly family affairs so that there are no chances for outsiders to break in. Many of the college graduates go to sawmills, such as out at Y . . . "[3]

Another informant stated that one of the chief problems in the Japanese community was in "getting them good jobs. They can get jobs if they are not too fussy." Still another stated:

> Most of the second generation want to go into professions and white-collar jobs. When their parents came to America they could not speak English and they had to take whatever jobs they could get. They have thought that the white-collar jobs were far superior and something very desirable. Although many of these jobs do not pay much, and one can at times earn more at menial labour, nevertheless, the parents have wanted their children to have what they couldn't have. They think a white-collar job is something grand.

Within the Japanese community, in both rural and urban areas, there is a great deal of discussion about " getting ahead," and parents and children emphasize the desirability of a "white-collar job." There are several reasons for this emphasis. Among the first generation Japanese there was a well-developed trend, motivated by traditional factors, to move into small business enterprises. Secondly, the Japanese, like other immigrants in America, have tried to make "big money," and they are aware that on the whole it could be made in business rather than in farming. Thirdly, Japanese rivalry for status within their own group has had significant effects: parents have sacrificed so that their children might have a higher education, and this in turn has made the children dissatisfied with the parental status. In some instances a fourth factor has been present: the rebellion against the acceptance of inferior social status

[3]The writer visited the sawmill referred to and obtained a list of the *nisei* there; at that particular time no college graduates were recorded.

as symbolized in menial positions and ordinary farm work. Finally, it should not be overlooked that the Japanese came into a social milieu in which greater prestige and monetary rewards were accorded to the white-collar worker than to the common day-labourer. The white-collar job epitomized for the Japanese the starting point for "success."

As soon as they start looking for jobs the *nisei* encounter particular employment limitations and difficulties in fields where they compete with white Americans. Said one informant:

I applied for jobs advertised in newspapers and every time I applied there seemed to be a good many American boys ahead of me. Then I felt that being a Japanese was a disadvantage. I applied at a hardware store for a job, but they did not even look at me, for there were so many ahead of me. I did not lose confidence nor did this seem too discouraging to me.

One other aspect of the problem is described by another *nisei* employed as a pharmacist:

When I went to work for the prescription house, I did have a little difficulty at first. The employer is not prejudiced, but the customers discriminated. We had the window so arranged that from the outside they could not see that a Japanese boy was working behind the counter. At first when they came in, they would go to the other men with their orders, but they got over that so finally I was working all right.[4]

Even after a job is secured, the *nisei* find little chance for advancement, not only where they are working for white Americans but also in the large Japanese branch offices or businesses owned by the first generation. This naturally develops anxieties, for many of the *nisei* have had to accept family responsibilities. An informant explained this dead-end problem by his own circumstances.

I am dissatisfied with my job. When I was graduated from high school, the principal was a go-between with the Japanese bank. Father also urged me to accept this position. I understood that there would be a future, and so I turned down three other offers. Although I started in at $55 per month, I had been earning $40 during the last year in high school, so this wasn't much of an improvement. Five years later I had a chance to change jobs, but Father discouraged me. He said, "You are not a go-getter." I feel that I have not

[4]It is also quite possible, of course, that the change was not in the customers but in the *nisei* pharmacist himself: as he grew more accustomed to working there and to the other white employees, he probably lost some of his inhibitions and approached the customers instead of waiting for them to approach him. This gaining of confidence is described by LaPiere in "Attitudes vs. Action," *Social Forces*, December 1934.

been advanced as I was promised and am just now getting a little over $100 per month, at the age of 28, after ten years. One of the *kaisha* boys came over and is only 25, but he gets $190. There is no chance of my becoming a member of the *kaisha* group. However, there are plenty to take my place if I am dissatisfied. I am going to work here a couple of years longer to get experience, then I plan to jump this job when other plans materialize. The *kaisha* does not seem to care. Every time I have reached an understanding with my employer, the management is changed, then I have to do it all over again. Then, too, there are a lot of college men coming out of school, and they are willing to work for nothing just to get a start. They think they can be promoted. As a last resort, I can go to a sawmill and make more or at least as much. I have had offers of jobs from Japan, but it would be hard for me to adjust myself to the language and customs. Also, advancement is very limited over there.

The system of promotion in Japan is something like this: they have five classes. (1) The apprentice class, starting at 25 to 30 yen per month. (2) The high school graduates, starting out at 30 to 35 yen per month. (3) The commercial graduates who get 35 to 40 yen to start. (4) The higher commercial get 65 to 70 yen to start. (5) The college group receives from 75 yen up. How much you get depends upon your education.

The apprentices are raised from 1 to 2 yen per month every year; the second class are raised 3 yen per month per year; the commercial class 5 yen; the higher commercial class 10 to 15 per month per year; and the university group from 10 to 20 yen per month per year. So, even the raises are dependent upon education. They are very fussy about this and observe it all very carefully. Once you are placed, then you go ahead whether you have ability or not. Getting in is just a matter of education or pull. But these go together since those who have pull, have had the education.

The employers stress perfection, regardless of how much time it takes. They say that accuracy is important, for one cannot undo it after it is sent. Get a letter perfect! I work lots faster and more accurately than all the rest and am through first. Many of the *kaisha* boys ask me how to do things. In general, I have the feeling that all this is unjust. Yet, after ten years of bank work, I realize that I cannot go out and do mill work for I am trained for doing just this work.[5]

[5]Note how much detailed information this young man of twenty-six has about working conditions and opportunities in Japan. At a meeting where some of the first generation were describing opportunities for *nisei* in Japan, he kept silent for some time and then forced the speaker to tell (1) in detail the wage scale to be expected, which is usually left out in such speeches, including opportunities for promotion; (2) the conditions of living to which they would have to adjust; and (3) the educational preparation necessary. This compelled the speaker to make this statement: there are only opportunities for a few who have unusual preparation or some connections to begin with and "you would help to solve our population problem by staying here." It is certain that the interested *issei* did not intend for these conclusions to be presented to a large number of second-generation young men and women.

In the branch offices of large Japanese corporations, the *nisei* is worse off than either the new arrival from Japan, who holds a better job, or the Caucasian who works for these corporations and receives much better wages for the same work. But in spite of the disadvantages of intense competition for such positions, connections with the large corporations carry considerable prestige among Japanese in America. Even the wives of the *nisei* working in these offices must be very careful of what they do if they work outside their homes; they must have "dignified jobs." There appears to be no remedy for the discrimination against the *nisei* by Japanese firms. *Nisei* claim that to be in line for promotion in a Japanese branch office, it is necessary to make a "favourable marriage" or give up American citizenship and become a Japanese citizen. Most of the *nisei* do neither of these.

A third hindrance in the occupational adjustment of the *nisei* is sometimes found in the family itself — for example, the case cited above where the informant's father not only urged him into the position in the branch bank but also kept him there when he had an opportunity to change and better himself. There are, too, certain family responsibilities which *nisei* have had to assume in many instances, such as payment of paternal debts, although this responsibility may not occur so frequently with the younger group. When necessary a *nisei* becomes head of the family and is responsible for its income, the care of junior members, and for establishing or taking care of each until marriage. One *nisei*, however, described how he had to work and sacrifice in order to put his older brother through school. This brother was not satisfied with going to a college close by but had to go to a smaller school in the East, recommended by his minister. The father explained that as soon as the older brother finished, he would in turn help out the younger one. This never occurred, and consequently the younger brother felt that he had been exploited.

An immigrant father stated that he did not care which of his sons took over his farm, but he was going to insist that one of them do it. This is a traditional Japanese atttiude. The farm or the small business which the parents have worked hard to acquire

is a symbol of success. Furthermore, it carries on the family tradition. On this point the parents can be very stubborn. Undoubtedly they are aware of the discrimination against their children and feel that the parental business is a start and an advantage which the children should have. For example, one father insisted upon a son coming home from a fairly good unusually interesting position in the East as he was needed at home in the expanding family business.

Then, too, the culturally stereotyped role of the parent is to dominate the child in all phases of its life, and this dominance is expressed in keeping the child dependent until he is well along in years, in some instances even after marriage. Japanese tradition is filled with negative attitudes toward independence and self-sufficiency, though the value of independence and self-confidence is realized by some parents. One *nisei* pointed out that those who have parents who are "broad-minded," or *nisei* who have by circumstances been forced to assume greater responsibilities, are the ones who are "going places" and ended his conversation by saying, "I tell you what's wrong with the *nisei*. They don't know how to do things." The *nisei* are aware of the limitation of experience which the traditional role of the parents imposes upon the children. One father in a rather large business had his twenty-five-year-old son working full time for $25 each month. The son wanted to be more independent and earn a full salary so that he could get married, but his father refused. This is apparently a traditional Japanese method of establishing children in business, but some of the older *nisei* resent such methods.

The discriminating wage which exists in the large Japanese corporation offices in America is found also in all Japanese businesses. For example, in 1935 there were seventy-six Japanese wholesale produce houses in Seattle in which many *nisei* were employed. For the same kind of work in these concerns, the Caucasian workers received from $25 to $30 per week, while the *nisei* received $15 to $18. If an *issei* produce merchant is questioned about lower wages for *nisei*, his immediate response is that he cannot afford to pay more wages. This dual wage system is one

of the reasons why the *nisei* are trying to push into their own produce houses or other small businesses.[6]

It was noted in several cases that there appeared to be no wage discrimination against *nisei* engaged in unskilled labour in American firms. How generally true this is cannot be said. In one sawmill there were two *nisei* supervisors, both of whom were convinced that they held their positions because of their familiarity with the work and their own competitive ability. Three of the Caucasians working under these foremen were asked how they liked working under a Japanese boss, and none had any complaint to make. They said that the *nisei* foremen "worked like hell" and expected their men to do likewise. Occasionally some one would grumble about the work, but not because the foremen were *nisei*. The manager of the mill did not feel that they held their positions entirely on their competitive ability; he has had unusually good results with the Japanese in the sawmill business, so he felt that he favoured them a little.

There is one more problem with which a *nisei* may be confronted when working for a Japanese firm. Several informants felt that they were definitely limited by the traditional obligation not to quit a job. For example, if a Japanese employer gives a *nisei* a position, then the employee is obligated to the employer and is not supposed to leave in order to work for someone else. This situation does not apply, of course, to seasonal work, such as in agricultural lines, and it varies somewhat from occupation to occupation. One informant said that it would be all right to quit and go to work for a new employer if he were out in the same

[6]Some of the *nisei* claimed that when they started working for a Japanese business, they did not even know what their wage would be. One girl described how no one ever received wages in full but employees asked for money when they needed it. Among the *nisei* there is much talk and discussion about these "Japanese methods of business."

From several *nisei* who had lived in the Hawaiian Islands, it was learned that a dual standard of wages exists in some businesses there. This is a report which needs further investigation. One informant reported that a friend of hers went into school-teaching as she refused to "bow my head to the Haoles by accepting a discriminating wage," for clerical work in an American firm. It was said that this young lady would have received $70 per month while the white American girls would have received $90 for the same work.

business. Another claimed that one was not supposed to quit under any condition but just keep "hanging around." In return, as pointed out previously, the employee is assured considerable stability and security of employment. Thus they are limited in searching for better jobs, as they feel that they could not change without considerable difficulty.

In regard to a position in a Japanese firm, a recent correspondent said, "I do not know if I want the job. I understand from other girls that one gets so obliged one can hardly move." This reflects clearly the *nisei* feeling about traditional Japanese employer-employee relations. Another correspondent wrote: "You know, it certainly makes a lot of difference when you work for some one who appreciates your hard work and efforts. I certainly can't say that of any of my *Nihonjin* bosses, not one of them in fact. I guess I should take a course in "How to Influence and Get Along with Japanese Bosses."

Although the traditional employer-employee relationship is undoubtedly changing considerably, it does appear in rather surprising places and seems to persist longer because of occupational discrimination. It should also be pointed out that the traditional attitude affects the employer as well as the employee. One employer told of an employee who had been taken into his organization because of the family reputation. The employee had proved completely incompetent and efforts to correct her work and attitudes were of no avail. Yet the employer felt he could not let her go. He was waiting for an opportunity when it would be convenient for her to go to another city. Gradually the attitudes will probably become more Americanized, with the employer being less concerned for the employee, and the employee feeling less indebted to his employer.

We may summarize the *nisei* occupational problem thus: the *nisei* face discrimination in the choice of occupations; they are likely to be put to work in dead-end jobs; their family position sets limits with its responsibilities and traditional parent-child relations; and, finally, they may be restricted by traditional Japanese employer-employee relations and they may have to accept a discriminating wage from Japanese firms. In addition, of course, they

must contend with general economic problems, such as market trends or depressions.

In addition to discrimination we have pointed to cultural factors which operate to create the *nisei* vocational problem. It should be observed, however, that discrimination is the central factor and appears to be responsible for the other difficulties encountered by the *nisei*. If the American-born Japanese could compete on equal terms with other Americans, Japanese traditions as they operate in employer-employee or parent-child relations would probably be of no more importance than similar relations in other American groups. At present the old cultural traditions of the Japanese are reinforced and given persistent value because of occupational discrimination.

Chapter V

MEETING THE VOCATIONAL PROBLEM

Educational Preparation - Group Action

For most of the Japanese, the task of finding satisfactory employment for the native-born children has been a community as well as an individual problem. Both first and second generations learned from experience that occupational discrimination is not only subtle but widespread. It became possible to anticipate discrimination in certain lines and have the *nisei* take this into consideration in their choice of occupation and training for work. The family defines the problem and works toward training its members for certain lines of work. On the community level there has been a great deal of discussion of the problem; advice was sought and finally appeals were made to the heads of families to use available information in directing their children.

The American school teachers gave sympathetic advice to the parents and helped in the collective efforts to find work for the children. In some cases, the collective action was initiated by the teachers. A former officer of the Japanese Association in Seattle stated:

> About fifteen years ago the teachers from Franklin, Garfield, and Broadway high schools came to talk with me about what studies our children should take at school so as to best fit them for the problems of getting jobs. At that time I was one of the officers of the Association. There were fifteen of us who met. Mr. Hashiguchi, Mr. Kosaka, and Mr. Miyamoto were in this group. We decided there were no opportunities in the educational line, so there was no use their majoring in education. Engineering on the other hand would be all right because there would then be a possibility of their securing positions either in Japan or America. But this proved wrong. This group and the teachers decided that the children should take business courses, for then they would have an opportunity with the Oriental companies if they could not get in with the white companies. The second generation has tried to get jobs with white companies, but there is no chance for them. The companies just tell them that they have

no vacancies. Of course, I think that the second generation can get jobs in Japan, but the difficulty is that the second generation do not want to live in Japan, and they do not want to go there. In 1929 I went to the Park Board, the fire station, and the city offices to see what opportunities they had. But there were no jobs. Also, we thought that if a person were just going into a small business, high school training would be enough. But some of the second generation wanted to go to college, even though they were just in a small business. In groceries, hotels, or dye works, high school is enough.

Efforts such as these, made about 1923, had little success in guiding the *nisei* into acceptable channels. Strong, as a result of his study of vocational plans, concluded: "On the whole, Japanese and Whites differ very little regarding school subjects best liked, school subjects they are planning to specialize in, and occupational aspirations."[1]

Since Strong's findings were based upon vocational-interest analysis of data secured in 1930, a check was made by compiling the major subjects of Japanese college students as reported in *The Directory of Japanese Students in North America,* 1937-8. (see Table IV). Although it was not possible to work out a satisfactory control group because of the different geographical distribution and variations in the naming of courses and the reporting of figures, a rather rough basis for comparison was obtained by securing registration data from the University of Washington. This university presents a wide range of choices for the students and it was possible to derive comparative percentages by using the major subjects which appear to be comparable.

One of the most conspicuous differences between the Japanese students and the student body as a whole was found in the general group of business courses. This would indicate that the parents were partially successful in directing their children toward that field of interest.

The relatively high percentage of *nisei* in the business courses was brought about by other factors too, such as community discussion of vocational problems and of opportunities in various

[1] *Japanese in California,* p. 166.

TABLE V

MAJOR SUBJECTS OF AMERICAN-BORN JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS AND STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
1937-8

Major subject	American-born Japanese*		University of Washington†	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Agriculture	52	3.6	....	....
Architecture	21	1.5	127	1.4
Arts	43	3.0	512	5.7
Biology	174	12.1	1,190	13.2
Business	369	25.7	1,670	18.5
Dentistry	32	2.2	....	....
Drama	....	....	65	0.7
Engineering	147	10.2	1,415	15.7
General Studies	257	17.9	1,018	11.3
Home Economics	57	4.0	470	5.2
Language	9	0.6	119	1.3
Law	17	1.2	95	1.1
Librarianship	1	0.07	....	....
Literature	31	2.2	712	7.9
Mathematics	8	0.6	50	0.6
Medicine	23	1.6	....	....
Natural Science	60	4.2	697	7.7
Optometry	16	1.1	....	....
Physical Education	1	0.07	113	1.2
Psychology	7	0.5	71	0.8
Social Science	110	7.7	697	7.7
TOTAL	1,435	100.0	9,021	100.0

*The figures for the American-born Japanese Students are compiled from *The Directory of Japanese Students in North America*, 1937-8. Only students from the continental United States have been included; graduate students and those whose major subjects were not indicated have also been omitted. The total figures for origins of Japanese students in the United States are: continental United States, 2,128; Hawaii, 129; Canada, 8; Japan, 249; South America, 1. Hence the 1,435 used in our calculations represent 67.4 per cent. of the total from the United States, or 57.1 per cent. of all Japanese students in colleges here.

The figures for students at the University of Washington were made available by Mr. Newhouse, then Registrar. Here also the 971 graduate students have

† Includes both Japanese and non-Japanese.

been omitted, leaving a total registration of 9,732 for the fall term, 1937—the same period covered by the data on *nisei* registrations. Since some major subjects did not appear comparable, not all registered students were included in the tabulations, but the 9,021 represent 92.7 per cent. of the entire undergraduate registration.

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fields. It was felt that by taking business courses a person might be able to establish a business of his own and become relatively independent, which motive has been well developed among the Japanese in America. One other factor to be considered here is the competitive business attitude of the Japanese among themselves — the desire to do and to be something "big." Independent business is about the only way to achieve this end. The children have taken over this attitude from the parents, and it has been strengthened by recognition of the limitations imposed by discrimination on choice of occupation as well as on promotions.[2]

In spite of the large number in business courses, however, the student statistics indicate that the *nisei* were not limiting themselves entirely to courses on business and foreign trade. In architecture, biology, law, mathematics, and the social science subjects, the percentage of *nisei* was about equal to that of the other group. The data indicate that the *nisei* college students had a wide variety of interests and were seeking training in many occupational lines. Apparently the situation was little changed since Strong made his survey in 1930.

In many instances the parents were not able to control entirely their children's educational careers. Daughters, finally allowed to go to a university on condition that they major in Home Economics, have changed in the second year to majors of their own choice. Further investigation should not overlook the fact that higher education of the *nisei* in part carries out the American pattern, and in part is a rebellion against family dominance, or an

[2]Many of the *nisei* know of some *issei* who have made a great deal of money within several years and have then returned to Japan. One *nisei* told of a cook in North Dakota who had made $25,000 in three years; another pointed out a man who had $10,000 from one good onion crop. There are also many stories of stock-market successes. All these stories serve to nurture the idea of doing "something big."

effort to get away from the Japanese background and heritage. For the group, the emphasis upon professional or white-collar status is important; for individual cases, other factors are subtle but also important.

School teachers were concerned about the *nisei's* occupational future and held discussions about them in various community organizations. Their families too were dubious about the possibilities of their finding work even when they were adequately trained. A *nisei* hears about the Japanese occupational problem on every hand, and learns that it directly affects his whole life in a manner that is different from what any other Americans with similar training or qualifications experience.[3]

Not only has there been an effort to anticipate the vocational problem by training the children in what seem to be the appropriate schools and subjects, but a great deal of attention was given to making surveys for the purpose of discovering where jobs can be secured, and of what nature.[4] The peak of Japanese births came in 1921 and therefore the period just before the war was

[3]The case of the Japanese is somewhat similar to that of the Negro. The young people are concerned about a variety of topics and problems, but the persistence of the special position of the Japanese in the economy is a recurring topic of conversation and gives economic problems a new definition. Frazier states "much of the spontaneous conversation of these three Negro youths is the same as that of White youths in similar circumstances . . . But one is struck by the fact that an ever-recurring subject in their conversation is the fact that they are Negroes." For the Japanese this is true in so far as the problem is one of vocational placement, or perhaps of finding a home. See Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (quoted by permission of the publisher).

[4]One of the means by which college students keep in touch with opportunities in various parts of the United States is through the work of the Japanese Students' Christian Association in North America and the *Japanese Student Bulletin* published by this group. In the summer of 1940 Mr. Toru Matsumoto, secretary of the organization, made a trip through the Pacific states and published six articles of impressions and findings in the *Bulletin*. One informant said that Mr. Matsumoto urged the *nisei* college graduates to go to New York and other eastern cities. Later in the fall, inquiry was made of Mr. Matsumoto about possibilities there but he replied that the entire situation had changed so much because of international conditions that it was practically impossible for a *nisei* to find a position in the East. However, a newspaper report later told of a *nisei* engineer being employed in an eastern firm busy with defence orders. Mr. Matsumoto's judgment was probably changed because of the decrease in foreign trade with Japan and also because of Japan's joining the Rome-Berlin Axis with the subsequent increase of opposition in American sentiment.

one in which increasing numbers of *nisei* were finishing school and seeking employment. Education and vocational surveys were made by various organizations in an attempt to solve this problem. According to the *New World Sun*: "The federation has planned to conduct a survey which will in some way give light to high school students. Only Japanese in various professions will be contacted. Believing also that there are other lucrative fields besides those that require a college education, the sponsors are going to send their queries to a variety of workers."[5]

At a meeting in San Francisco in April, 1938, to "Air Possibilities in Working World," round-table discussions were held with various business leaders at each table. On July 28, 1938, the *Japanese California Daily News* used the headline: "Job Future Bright for Able *Nisei*," and stated that there are "plenty of jobs open for willing and able *nisei* in Northern and Central California, particularly in agricultural field work. There are too many educated *nisei* in technical vocations and they cannot possibly be absorbed by the Japanese urban communities." These conclusions were based on a survey made by the Reverend Unoura of Los Angeles, who was also a discussion leader on vocational problems at the Biennial Conference of the Japanese-American Citizens' League in Los Angeles in September, 1938. From time to time announcements of various surveys were made in the newspapers, and occasionally results were published, showing how many were working in different occupations and often indicating opportunities in new areas or new businesses.[6] One scheme for creating jobs was reported:

> Proposing to operate a chain of fruit, vegetable, and grocery stores to create more opportunity for the employment of the *nisei* in the San Francisco area, a new corporation, Second Generation Industrial Enterprises, Inc., has been authorized to issue stock to raise capital for operations, it was learned today. Sponsor for this movement is I. Obayashi, former president of the San-Francisco Japanese

[5] "Vocational Selection Survey at Northern California High School Student confab in April," *New World Sun*, January 9, 1938.

[6] For example: "Jobs for Chick-Sexers East of Rockies," *Rafu Shimpo*, December 1, 1937, or "Good Opportunities in Snake River Valley Observes Editor Saito," *New World Sun*, November 17, 1936. Also, "Go East, Young Man," *Rafu Shimpo*, March 7, 1938.

Labour Association. The present plan is to sell 1,000 shares at ten dollars each to subscribe a working capital, Obayashi stated. Though the produce and grocery field was chosen as a most promising field for the *nisei*, it was understood that other enterprises may be attempted. Obayashi declared that the stock would be sold on a basis of 50 cents cash and the rest in five equal monthly instalments.

The organization launched a similar plan some time ago on a smaller scale, many features of which are included in the new set-up.[7]

Unlike the Negroes with their National Urban League, the Japanese had no special organization with full-time personnel to help in finding work. The Japanese attitude has been that they themselves must solve these problems, and they would not think of asking wealthy Americans for help. Furthermore, there are no Japanese philanthropists. Such activity is not a part of the Japanese tradition, and in America no Japanese has been sufficiently wealthy or interested to provide funds for the establishment of an organization similar to the Urban League.

Although there was considerable collective concern about vocational problems, personal pride and traditional dependence upon the family and prefectural associations retarded the development of a general feeling of responsibility for others. But group and individual experience showed clearly that the traditional attitude was inadequate to cope with the problem of occupational discrimination. The need for group action has been seen more clearly by some of the *nisei* leaders than by the older *issei*.[8]

Unionism

The labour movement in the United States does not embrace all ethnic or racial minority groups. In the case of the Japanese, unionism has contributed to the setting up and the strengthening of occupational limitations. More recently, however, it has affected the Japanese in an entirely different manner. The number of

[7]*North American Times*, July 8, 1938.

[8]In view of the common knowledge about Japanese co-operative modes of behaviour, described by John Embree, *Suye Mura*, the question is often raised why a co-operative approach to the economic problems of the Japanese has not been attempted. See Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, p. 77, for quotation from an interview with a first-generation business man who had promoted a co-operative organization for marketing produce.

small Japanese business establishments and their efforts to adjust themselves to American competition and discrimination resulted in a large number of trade associations or business groups, and farmers have attempted, though with little success, to organize marketing co-operatives. But until fairly recently Japanese workers have not organized collectively to improve working conditions and wages. This is not surprising, for a social system which emphasizes a primary and family type of relation between the employer and employee is not conducive to allegiance to, nor tolerance of, a labour movement. Unionism is new to the Japanese in America. It has only recently become a "problem" in the Japanese communities, except in so far as the white unions have imposed restrictions.

Skilled Japanese workmen who are eligible for membership in the American Federation of Labour unions have not been allowed to join. This is one way that the Federation has attempted to control competition and exclude the Japanese from the ranks of skilled labour.[9] Several years ago the Japanese in San Francisco raised about $30,000 for a Salvation Army Hall. The building trade unions were able to force the use of white labour in its construction, and not a single Japanese carpenter or bricklayer was permitted to work on it.

There are two large groups of *nisei* workers which could have benefited from union activities before the recent evacuation. These include the produce and retail workers who clerked in a large number of Japanese business establishments along the coast, and the large number of farm and cannery workers. Although truck drivers, restaurant workers, and others might have benefited, the retail and farm groups comprised the largest number of workers and those subject to considerable exploitation because of the

[9]For a succinct statement of the Negroes' problem and of efforts to receive some support and recognition from the Federation, see Minton and Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, chapter VI, "A. Philip Randolph, Negro Labor's Champion." Discrimination has been carried so far as to exclude virtually all Negro skilled workmen from receiving federal work relief funds where the jobs call for union labour. Joseph Jackson, former secretary of the Urban League in Seattle, described to the writer the work of the League in overcoming this obstacle especially in St. Louis.

seasonal or migratory character of their work. The *Rafu Shimpo* reported on December 5, 1937, that there were 3,000 *nisei* and only 909 *issei* employed in the retail fruit and vegetable business in Los Angeles. This group had its own unaffiliated organization, but it was not a militant union and did little to improve working conditions. The A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. later attempted to gain control over this organization, and thus the *nisei* were drawn into the conflict of the larger union movement.

Many Japanese have definitely resented and opposed such participation because of the discrimination present in most union activity and because they usually felt it advantageous not to take sides in any controversial movement in the larger American community, for fear of injuring their own interests. The *Rafu Shimpo*, on November 29, 1936, reported only a few Japanese in the celery strike and interpreted this as showing "timidity." But there are exceptions to this negative view and in the 1936 lettuce strike in Salinas, California, the Japanese papers very eagerly pointed out that there were no Japanese scabs. On the other hand, some editorials took the point of view that the strike revealed the "hand of fascism."[10] A detailed account of one union which has become affiliated with the C.I.O. serves to illustrate the conflict which existed before the evacuation between the two Japanese generations, the two union movements, and the conflict between the Japanese and Filipinos.[11]

The seasonal work in the Alaska fish canneries has been a source of income for varied racial groups. Chinese were used extensively

[10]In the spring of 1936 the farm strike resulted in a peculiar situation. An editorial indicated that the city *nisei* were expected to go to the farms and assist during the strike, but doubt was expressed as to whether this was advisable. See *Rafu Shimpo*, May 10, 1936. It should be observed that the *nisei* usually is not an agricultural labourer, at least according to *nisei* informants in 1934-5. But 1940 figures, quoted by Tolan (chairman), *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*, p. 105, show that of the gainfully employed *nisei* males in California, 20.88 per cent were "farm laborers (wage workers) and foremen" and that 12.93 per cent were "farm laborers, unpaid family workers." For the *nisei* women the percentages were 5.68 and 18.12 respectively. Comparable figures for other groups are not available.

[11]The writer is indebted to Mr. Daisho Miyagawa, a CIO union official during those years, for criticizing this portion of the manuscript.

in the early days, and the machine which cuts and cleans the fish is known as the "Iron Chink." Then Japanese gradually worked into the field, and more recently Filipinos have invaded it and replaced numbers of Japanese. These canneries have been operated on a contract labour basis, especially for the cleaning and canning crews which were until recently unorganized. Usually a cannery operator told a contractor that on a specific date some 250 men would be needed at a certain cannery. The contractor supplied not only the men but also their food. Thus he stood directly between the operator and the labour group and there was no point of contact whatsoever between the employer and the employee. The Japanese foremen were, of course, the chosen friends of the contractor.

In such an arrangement, all the traditional Japanese attitudes of loyalty, friendliness, and indebtedness found fertile soil for persistence. The employees were indebted to the contractor for their jobs and when they were financially pressed, he carried them, deducting the loans from later earnings. Many of the *issei*, accustomed to such paternalistic arrangements, saw no cause for complaint. Then, too, the men were usually migratory and unmarried. Some of the resident aliens worked in Alaska for the season and then vacationed in Japan where they had families and children. But when more *nisei* and Filipinos entered the canneries, there was considerable unrest and dissatisfaction. Some of the older *nisei* disliked the poor food, poor pay, and poor sleeping quarters, but felt unable to do anything about it. To reject what the contractor provided simply meant losing the job.

The contractors were mostly Japanese and Chinese. In 1935 the Filipinos, in an attempt to improve their working conditions and as a protest against the 1933 depression and discriminatory wages, organized the Cannery Workers and Farm Labourers Union, securing a charter from A.F. of L. headquarters in San Francisco. This action was seen at once as a direct threat to the Japanese contractors and labourers in the cannery field. The union members, all Filipinos, were especially bitter against the

contractors, and, under the new plan, the union provided the men while the company furnished the food.

At first, the contractors tried to control the union through certain Filipino officers, but this failed. Then a competing union was organized, thus creating an A.F. of L. Japanese union and an A.F. of L. Filipino union. The latter became affiliated with the C.I.O., but because of dissension among the Filipinos, a group revived the earlier A.F. of L. affiliate. There were, then, three unions, all in conflict with each other on racial and union issues. After many complications a crisis in jurisdictional problems finally arose in the spring of 1938 and the issues was submitted to the National Labour Relations Board. The elections gave the C.I.O. affiliate the right to represent the workers for collective bargaining. It is now conceded that the Japanese-Filipino issue was not as critical as it at first seemed; yet many adjustments had to be made between the two groups and many points of friction remained.

Rosey, a Filipino worker, was kicking about the Japanese monopolizing jobs around the fish docks and on the washing crews. He thinks that this monopoly causes plenty of handicap for the Filipinos . . . It is a tradition that the Japanese work on the fish dock and the Filipinos on the lye-wash crew and in the can shop work . . . They do the same work and get different pay. The Filipinos feel very bitter about this.[12]

The union was able to effect a change in food supplied to the workers. The "Diary" quoted sample menus after the change was made: breakfast — bacon and eggs, rice, hot biscuits, tea or coffee; dinner — salmon soup, beef stew or baked salmon, lima beans and *tofu*, rice, tea or coffee; supper — roast beef or stuffed salmon, pickles, rice, pumpkin pie, tea or coffee.

We never had things like this before, especially pumpkin pies, ham and eggs, bacon, coffee, and biscuits. Before, the meal usually consisted of rice and soy bean soup in the morning. Every day in the cannery it was the same. Lunch consisted mostly of Japanese dishes, not so good as this menu; supper about the same. This change is due to union activities.

An informant interviewed in March, 1937, said:

The unions are forcing up the wages. A few years ago the minimum wage was $45 per month, now the union is trying to force a $96 minimum. It had been going up gradually but this is quite an increase and quite a shock to the

[12]Anonymous, from the "Diary of a *Nisei* Cannery Worker," in the author's personal file.

industry. Just how this fight will end, I don't know. One of the second generation lawyers was very active trying to form a competing union, but he didn't have any success. Just how long the Filipinos will stay in control, we don't know.

After the union became active, working conditions in the canning industry improved greatly, but the struggle against the contractors and conflict between the unions involved taking sides, and either side could be interpreted as "radical" and anti-Japanese. It appears that the Japanese appreciated the improvements but disliked facing the issues. Some attempted to hold a "two-way" attitude, as is indicated in the following letter from one *nisei* to another:

Unfortunately you did not take heed to the message I wrote on the envelope, so I'm trying again. If you want to go to Alaska this year, you better sign up with the A. F. of L. It seems that last Friday, the Maritime Union withdrew their support from the CIO union and at the same time branded one of the leaders as a Communist. Furthermore, the rest of the boys which our friend claims back his union have shifted over to the A. F. of L. Let it be understood that this is not the Chinese type of propaganda. This is the straight goods. Anyhow, notwithstanding, it would not harm you in the least to play a two-handed game. Sign up with both unions. Damn it all, man, the rest of the University fellows are getting scared now and are signing up with the Japanese union. It seems that all of the guys who endorsed that statement which appeared in the Japanese papers have regretted their hasty move and are losing sleep from it. If you don't believe what I write, phone me up, and I'll cuss you up one side and down the other. Shall we pray?

One *nisei* claimed that these issues created "the greatest crisis the community has ever had." In many instances the *nisei* were indebted to the contractors because of previous employment, family relationships, and money loans. Yet apparently the majority favoured the C.I.O. affiliate, since it had proved its worth. When the N. L. R. B. voting took place, fathers literally hauled their sons to the polling places to make them cast their votes for the A.F. of L. jurisdiction. But in spite of this and other pressures, the C.I.O. won.

The voting was indirectly a conflict between the first and second generations. The *nisei* wanted a C.I.O. victory partly because it would minimize the influence of the older generation and give the *nisei* an opportunity to assert thmeselves. The lack

of leadership is a handicap, but this may be overcome as *nisei* arise who are willing to take the risks. Speaking of the Japanese union leaders, a *nisei* described one in this manner: "He has principles, he never falters in them, and he works vigorously in the pursuit of them. He sleeps on the couch in the office instead of going home, and he keeps working hour after hour. An unusual *nisei*, if you ask me."

The various unions in which *nisei* are members have not yet provided a satisfactory means of job-improvement. The cannery union is the only one which has carried on a fight for improved conditions, and that struggle was started and carried on at first by the Filipinos against the Japanese contractors. The Teamsters Local 195-J in Seattle is a typical example of the "Oriental Unions" of the A.F. of L. — mainly a protection against the American teamsters who would otherwise picket the places of business.[13] The larger teamsters' union does not force its members onto Japanese trucks, but by keeping the *nisei* off of white trucks it limits their field and forces them back to Japanese business.[14]

On the whole, the conservative first generation has found unionism repugnant, for it does not fit into their scheme of life, yet it has been forced upon them and upon the second generation as a result of the general movement within the greater community and because of racial conflict. *Nisei* who belong to "Jim Crow" unions affiliated with the A.F. of L. dislike unionism simply because of racial discrimination. Were this factor removed, union activities would probably be much more popular.

In 1937 when jurisdictional control was the chief issue in the cannery industry, many *nisei* workers expressed a fear of Filipino

[13]Item in the *Japanese-American Courier*, July 20, 1940, p. 4 headed "Paper to Celebrate Step for Tolerance": " . . . the greatest civic victory ever accorded a minority group in the history of the Northwest will be celebrated with the newspaper's [*The Northwest Enterprise*, Seattle, a Negro paper] 21st anniversary dance and entertainment program . . . " The reason for the celebration was given as the admittance to membership of "all American citizens in Aeronautical Mechanics Union No. 751, without regard to race, creed, or color," thus making it possible for any American citizen to receive employment at the Boeing Aircraft Plant. All nationalities were invited to the dance.

[14]The growth of unionism among the Japanese has not been studied historically. The issues are confusing, and there is no way to judge "benefits" or "gains."

dominance. The *Japanese Student Bulletin,* December 1940, claims: "The Filipino workers in this industry comprise the majority of workers. And it has been primarily through their efforts that the powerful United Cannery and Farm Labourers' Union was organized. There are approximately 2,500 Filipino members; the Japanese make up some 496: the Chinese, 150; the Negroes, 20; Whites, 25; Hawaiians, 23: and Koreans,9."

According to union officials, however, the preponderance of Filipino workers does not mean Filipino dominance. In the jurisdictional dispute, the *nisei* who made up the "radical opposition" to the Japanese contractors became well established with the Filipino majority, and consequently they are now important leaders. One of the union officials, Daisho Miyagawa, wrote in a letter in the spring of 1941:

> The proportional representation of the Japanese in official positions in the Seattle local, for instance, can hardly be looked upon as disadvantageous or unfair, and it can further be said that, in the formulation and application of union rules and policy, the Filipino leadership has, if anything "leaned over backward" on more than one occasion in considering the interests of the Japanese minority. There is no Japanese representation in the leadership of the Portland local, but this is due more than anything else to the fact that almost all Japanese cannery workers residing in Portland are employed in canneries coming under the jurisdiction of the Seattle local. The numerical influence of the Filipinos in the San Francisco local is much less than in either the Seattle or Portland branches, this condition resulting from the fact that the San Francisco local has a large non-Oriental membership.

Mr. Miyagawa admits that there have been stresses and strains between the two racial groups, but he holds that such tensions have never been prolonged nor have they developed to the point of bringing about organized disunity. It is the national policy of the C.I.O. to resolve any racial antagonisms. As a pertinent instance, Mr. Miyagawa cites the adoption of the "racial quota" system for dispatching men to the jobs, "a step which goes far to remove a real source of possible conflict."

For the *nisei,* cannery work was formerly a seasonal occupation, a fine job for saving money to attend school in the winter; but an increasing number of *nisei* have come to look upon this work as a means of livelihood. If this trend continues, the problem of the

union will change. As is well known, any union has difficulty in gaining active member participation in union meetings and in solving its problems. In the case of the *nisei*, union interest has been only "seasonal." From the standpoint of the union, the emergence of a group of permanent workers should offset some of the indifference heretofore shown by many *nisei* in their relations to the union.

The cannery union had improved working and living conditions, secured better wages, and finally increased self-respect. For all these reasons it held, prior to evacuation, a place of importance in the Japanese community and the discussions of the *nisei*. It is a shining example of significant gains made through collective bargaining.

The evacuation of the American-born Japanese from the Coast and the movement of Filipinos into more lucrative work has seriously disturbed the industry. What will happen to the former Japanese cannery workers cannot be anticipated. It is entirely probable that the present war will remove them from the industry. The beginnings of unionism in other fields, e.g., market clerks, have in all likelihood been retarded just as it was becoming effective. The struggle of the *nisei* for some years to come will be to keep from becoming an even more marginal economic group than they have been in the past. Unionism had not opened any new lines of work but it had apparently started to improve working conditions.

Individual Expectations

In the highly integrated Japanese communities, everyone's occupation is known to all other members;[15] the hopes and disappointments, and all angles of the occupational problem, are discussed

[15]In the English sections of the vernacular papers published on the Pacific Coast, there appeared "success stories" of various people who were doing things outside the fields to which the *nisei* were usually limited. From eight different papers, for the years 1935, 1936, and 1937, these stories were recorded and classified. They reported people engaged in commercial art, music, aviation, civil service, library work, movies, and various other professions. If more data were available, this would be an excellent clue for studying the lines into which the *nisei* are moving. Details reported are insufficient to warrant a detailed analysis here.

at length. Experiences are shared and points of view criticized. Interpretations of the problem are somewhat varied, though there is a general expectation of racial discrimination. One informant declared: "I expect racial discrimination when I get out of school and try to get a job. Although college might help me in this adustment, I have a notion that I can't succeed anyhow. Grades are no sign of ability." In this case other factors operate to determine the point of view, as indicated in the notion that "grades are no sign of ability." The informant is already convinced that he "can't succeed anyhow." He is resigned to his role, and he foresees it as an "unsuccessful" one. Similar to this resigned point of view is to claim to be resigned but think that the world is full of chances which may produce a "break." The following statement is illustrative:

> Of course I have no intention of staying here. The English section of some Japanese papers is only a small portion of the total paper, and until that expands, there are no prospects . . . Although I am quite undecided and undetermined about everything in the future, I have no anxiety about it. I might go to a school of some kind if I had the money, but I fear that I have no ambition. I don't intend to look around for things, but just wait for the breaks. While in high school I was ambitious to be a teacher, and the high school annual put down my future as an educator.

Probably this informant did not want openly to admit that he felt he could not be "successful." After having worked in an Alaskan cannery and as a "menial in a club," as he expressed it, he has undoubedtly had first-hand experience with the problems of job-getting. His lack of ambition, his dependence on "waiting for the breaks," is his conscious or unconscious self-defence—if there are no "breaks," then I am not to blame.

An individual may be ambitious, he may wish to change his line of occupation, only to be thwarted by family obligations. This was the situation in the case of an informant who recognized distinctly the limitations of being bound within the patronage system of the Japanese community.

> I want Occidental contacts purely for business reasons. I want to get right out into the Occidental community, because that's where the money is. Being in the Japanese community, one cannot make any money as there is insufficient patronage. The way up and the way to get hold of money is out! I like the

idea of working in an Occidental community, especially if I had a store of my own.

I'm not satisfied with my present occupation, and am anxious to change but have no definite plans. I would like some kind of work in which the wages would depend upon how hard I worked, in other words, with chance for advancement. Right now all of my money goes into the house, and I cannot quit and look around for work as just one week off would put me in the hole.

Because of the way he defines his position and responsibilities, this person is absolutely restricted from making any effort to better his economic status. This reflects greater acceptance of occupational status among American-born Japanese than is generally recognized.

Another informant claimed: "We had good years in 1928 and 1929, and we will pull out all right because the farmer has to come back. Things have come back before. Why am I doing this? Because there isn't anything else to do. I don't think that the *nisei* are handicapped or held back because of discrimination or because of their being Japanese. They will find places on the farms all right." This informant happens to be a farmer, and when he says "there isn't anything else to do" he is drawing a conclusion from a long experience with family responsibilities—assumption of his father's debts and responsibility for his mother, brother, and sister. He knows that with his ability and resources, he would find it difficult to make a change. How much his interest in Buddhism enters into his interpretation cannot be said.[16] Certainly his faith in the American economic system and his belief that the farmer will "come back" stems directly from Middletown. Similar acceptance of occupational limitations is also expressed by other individuals.

The idea that one must use resourcefulness and personal initiative is stated by another informant. "In the present line I was very limited, so I took over a second store. By branching out, a man can go as far as his brains and ability will take him. I am

[16]E. K. Strong, Jr., has investigated religious affiliation and its influence more than any other writer. His general conclusions are: "All in all, it appears that the Christians have had more education or plan to obtain more than the Buddhists, they prefer the English language more, they live in cities to a greater extent, and they own their farms to a greater extent than the Buddhists. The differences are, however, in most cases not very great" (*Japanese in California*, p. 175). It is not clear just how Buddhist doctrines of resignation and predestination affect adjustments of the *nisei* Buddhists.

satisfied that in this work I can expand. I intend to keep going and not be satisfied to plunk down with what I have at present. Whether I succeed or not depends on my resourcefulness."

Individuals who accept the limitations within which they can work often blame themselves for failure to succeed. They hold that success is not a quesiton of "the system", but of their personal resources and characteristics. In describing their attitudes and behaviour, some *nisei* tend to be rather dramatic. A person living at home and working in his father's business declared:

I first tried to beat hell to get jobs—had a devil of a time. My friends said that it was no use to try here and there. Every place I mentioned, they said it was no use because of limited opportunities. I wrote to friends and relatives in Japan, and they replied that only limited opportunities existed there. I wrote to some friends in California, and they gave me the idea that it was plenty tough down there. When first out of college, I got a job for a couple of months keeping books on a farm. Since last July, I have been working for my dad who has his own shop. I hadn't planned on working for my dad at all. This was not my own idea of it. I wanted to get into marketing—be a salesman for some growing concern in Los Angeles or in Japan. I am not satisfied with my future and am going to look for the breaks. There would still be trouble if I were not Japanese—others are in the same boat. I could get jobs all right but they either would have no future or no security. They might pay well now but hold nothing for the future. I want to get experience by working for some large corporation, and then get into business for myself. I just want an opening in certain lines, namely those connected with marketing.

This informant admitted toward the latter part of the interview that he had been "putting up a front" and that he had not "tried to beat hell" to get work. He also admitted later that he had strong feelings of inferiority. His wishes as stated are undoubtedly sincere, but they are rationalizations caused by strong feelings of inferiority and his inclination to make his behaviour look acceptable in terms of the American notion of working and trying for a better position. Without presenting detailed data, it suffices to say here that his emotional instability and feeling of inferiority appear to be derived from family relationships. Such a psychogenic factor operates in the formulation of an interpretation of the job-getting problem which all *nisei* face, and the inferior community role undoubtedly facilitates the psychogenically founded feelings of inferiority.

It is not clear how usual such cases are, but they seem to appear often enough to be conspicuous. The following is such a case which expresses considerable agitation due to several frustration factors:

I have been working at a wholesale jeweler's for about five or six years. Guess you would just call me the boy about the place . . . there is no chance for promotion. No, I don't like the job where I am as I would rather be outside. I have never thought about going to Japan nor have I thought about going to California. My father died a little while ago, and I have to look out for the family . . . My brother-in-law is connected with a large silk and textile house in the East. If I wanted to I could go to work for the same company, as my brother-in-law said I could have a job if I wanted it. But I couldn't accept that. Mother has always said that I should be on my own and depend upon no one. Now if he had come right out and said, "I have a job for you in San Francisco. Will you take it?" then I could have accepted it, but I couldn't ask him for a job. . . . When I was in high school I was interested in commercial art, but Mother objected to my following this. She wanted me to do something which would establish me soundly and make me independent. I don't know if I will go back to it or not. If I do, I ought to go to New York where most of this work is done.

It is not easy to convey this informant's general tenseness. He appeared to be agitated by conflict derived from several factors. He evidently felt that his mother had frustrated him in his wish to become a commercial artist: he felt that acceptance of family responsibility was necessary but it irritated him: and finally he felt that his economic situation was hopeless. Some months after the interview, the informant had a nervous breakdown and was forced to quit work. The doctor told him "he worried too much." He seemed to have no idea as to when or where he would work again.

The careers of many native Americans are so well integrated with accepted social status that many crises appear to have no significant influence in redirecting them. In contrast, the careers of many *nisei* seem to be changed more easily — by the death of a father, by merely "missing a job," or by knowing some one who can get them started.

Rationalizations

The term "rationalization" is ambiguous. In some instances the rationalizations discussed here are of the Freudian variety, that is, verbalizations to justify behaviour: others are verbalizations

which attempt to make intelligible individual experiences that demand recognition. Both kinds of rationalization are tied into the plan of life, or the programme of action, which each individual evolves. They are associated with the process of accepting and rejecting the social world defined by Japanese and American forces; they also enter into attempts to meet the vocational problem. In the latter case they define a point of view and are instrumental in guiding a person's action with respect to any group or individual activity.

A notion held by some prominent *nisei* leaders and many others is that the *nisei* will have no vocational problem as soon as they show their true worth. It is based upon an assumption that they have special ability in various lines, and implies that they have a "worth" which is not used or appreciated by the Americans at the present time. It is assumed also that the *nisei* are now going through a "testing stage." They must prove both their "character" and their citizenship — qualities which some of the leaders are attempting to develop in the *nisei*.

One attitude toward vocations is: there is money here in America: if you want it, you can go out and get it. This attitude is coupled with a recognition that all groups, American or Japanese, have many problems with which to contend, and turns the issue back to individual abilities, aggressiveness, resources, and wishes — "where there is a will, there is a way." Any individual believing this is prepared to explain away all his trouble, regardless of what it is. A *nisei* may say "True, but I have no will," or "I have will but no way." Occasionally one says, "I have will and a way."

Some *nisei* have a frank, realistic attitude toward occupational limitations. Two college students, with high scholastic records, who intended to enter professional fields, said of their prospects merely: "It is going to be tough." One was reared in a little Tokyo, the other in an American area of a large city. A realistic anticipation of this kind is coupled with other rationalizations which make it possible for the individual to maintain his self-esteem. These emerge from the family organization and the long

Japanese cultural heritage. Each of the two informants has no illusions about being "an American." Both know that they face a difficult time as soon as their college work is finished. Many finally face the issue, but only a few say, "I can't be a success anyhow."

Another way to rationalize the vocational problem is to see a future in business, especially that related to farming. Since the parents have done well in farming, and the Japanese traditionally look upon farming as an honourable occupation, there is much talk about a future in this field. Consequently, public speakers, news writers, and others have discussed the possibility of finding better farming opportunities in various parts of the United States. Prior to evacuation, farming was rationalized as the most promising occupation and it was claimed that it offered unlimited opportunities as well as considerable stability, for people always need food.[17] How much this concern about farming is due to occupational discrimination and experienced rebuffs cannot be estimated with accuracy. But the difficulties of finding white-collar jobs or of becoming established in professions within the Japanese group were becoming so great by 1940 that with agricultural lines as lines "permitted" by native Americans, it is undoubtedly true that the major portion of this concern, even though four years earlier, is a reflection of the tightly and informally organized attitudes of occupational discrimination, widely distributed throughout the United States.

Before the outbreak of war a final important rationalization was, "I have contacts and could get work in Japan." In Japanese job-getting, an important factor is a "connection" or a "friend." When someone wants a job, he tells all his friends. Since these families have connections with families and friends in Japan or China, many *nisei* always know that if necessary, they can find a place abroad. In discussing this going-to-Japan problem with several *nisei*, the writer ventured the hypothesis that the idea "Well, I can go to Japan in the final showdown" is held by many *nisei* and that this gives each an additional stabilizing point of

[17] "Future for *Nisei* in Farming" by a *nisei* farmer, *Rafu Shimpo*, December 24, 1936, p. 27.

reference. There is no way to prove or disprove this hypothesis by direct research, but it tends to be confirmed by casual conversation and newspaper discussion about "staying in America."

C. and J. were earnestly studying Japanese, trying to learn some Japanese so as to catch up with the others. These two boys were almost like Americans. They knew nothing about Japanese. Joe apparently influenced them, so they were trying to read. They borrowed elementary text books from Tak. They said they were going to keep after it. B. told them about his trip [to Japan] and how they would feel powerless because they didn't know any Japanese.[18]

* * *

He is a regular Alaska boy. The stories he told also recounted his adventures in the prostitute houses. It could not be determined whether he went in such places to see them or whether he actually went there for sex purposes — this was in southern Japan. He told about one place where an old man and his daughter tried to make a living by the daughter's selling herself. B. left money in this place as an act of sympathy. After going to business college, he plans to return to Japan and set up a popcorn business. A brother of H. sells potato chips, so B. thinks the popcorn business might be good and wants to go back and try it after some business training. He feels that he has to go back to Japan with some kind of background. B. seemed to have had lots of fun in Japan so he feels that it is the place for him to live.[19]

* * *

One other thing, there's no doubt that most of these fellows bank on Japan and Manchuria to give them work in the final necessity. They always talk about it when questions of the future are brought up. And most of them aren't too worried as to the outcome for they always can bank on their parents to help them when they can't make the grade themselves.[20]

Apparently many of the *nisei* wanted to try their luck in Japan, but Japan did not offer an escape from economic discrimination. There were a few position there for persons with special training, but an American education was no longer in demand. In a few instances the use of English was an asset, as for example in teaching at a mission school. Newspapers carried conflicting stories. Under a Tokyo date-line a *nisei* newsman wrote:

. . . The *nisei* are not kids and it is high time that actual facts were made known to them:

(i) The land of the rising sun is not Utopia.

(ii) Plum jobs are not theirs for the picking.

[18]Document "Diary of a *Nisei* Cannery Worker." According to this diary the boys were regaled at length about B.'s adventures in Japan.

[19]*Ibid.*

[20]Personal correspondence file.

(iii) Living conditions are not ideal.
(iv) "Second Gens" are looked upon with contempt by the Japanese.
(v) In fact, the struggle for existence is just as keen there and life for the *nisei* is no bowl of cherries.[21]

In the same paper appeared this item, also with a Tokyo dateline: "Demand for Qualified *Nisei* Worker Increases." In other papers too articles on the advantages of staying in America appeared side by side with such stories as "Cablegram: Jobs for Six *Nisei* in Tokyo."

When a college-trained person finds it is almost certain there is no opportunity in America he considers going to Japan as a way of solving the problem of establishing himself economically. William Hosokawa quotes a letter from a friend who stated that "My Dad wants me to go to Japan and get a job. He wants the whole family to go back, but I want to stay in this country. I don't know what to do. What can you suggest?"[22]

Hosokawa suggested that it would be possible for the individual to continue in his father's business and develop it much more efficiently than his parents had done. The son would have to accept the limitations imposed, but he could capitalize on the foundation established by his parents. In another case, the parents were training the son so that he could go back to Japan and fit easily to Japanese life. Such a situation seemed natural to one informant and he was making no particular effort to break down the limitations imposed by racial discrimination.

Meeting the vocational problem is not easy for any youth who is of a family without means, particularly when he is struggling for a more acceptable status. For the American Negro youth, sacrifices for personal improvement in status are many and demanding. For the *nisei*, although expectations may give them a realistic point of view for interpreting their position in the social order, contingent factors are so important in achieving success that many become disposed to "wait for the breaks."

[21]Ozawa, "*Nisei* Face Problems in Japan," *Rafu Shimpo*, June 28, 1936.
[22]William Hosokawa in the *Rafu Shimpo*, August 14, 1938.

But in rationalizing the vocational problem, the *nisei* are not left alone. If their parents are not able to contribute toward establishing them in business, they can help them to understand and to interpret their experiences. The parents settled in the Pacific States when the economy was expanding and secured a foothold there, narrow though it proved to be in terms of the number of occupations into which they eventually fitted. But it sufficed to permit a well-organized family life which fitted into a community organization. Thus through personality development, family status, and community functioning parents were able to help their children, and prepare them to meet the vocational problem and social discrimination with group support.

Finally, although such problems are met with group support, there is nevertheless individual resentment and personal degradation. Expectations and rationalizations may be stereotyped in terms of group experience and interpretation, but the individual still suffers frustrations. There is no doubt that the great number of *nisei* activities, discussions, and arguments, and the general feeling of restlessness within the Japanese communities, have been directly related to a certain lack of sucess in meeting the vocational problem. For, according to the census figures for 1940, the economic base of *nisei* life was still narrow in terms of variety of occupations. Various writers familiar with the problem have claimed this to be an "unsatisfactory adjustment," because the narrow base might be toppled by a single crisis. It was unsatisfactory because the *nisei* continued to suffer serious frustration in economic adjustments. Furthermore, the trends toward concentration in limited occupational lines restricted opportunities for the development of natural talent. Studies of the mental capacity of the *nisei* have been made, the most important showing as a general conclusion that the I.Q. of *nisei* was 0.91 while that of the Americans of European ancestry was 0.99, the difference being due to linguistic handicaps.[23] If natural talent and mental ability guide one in making vocational

[23]Darsie, "The Mental Capacity of American-Born Japanese Children," *Comparative Psychology Monographs*, January 1926.

choices, then Americans of Japanese ancestry are not significantly different from other young Americans.[24]

It is evident that the *nisei* had arrived at an impasse at the time hostilities between America and Japan started in 1941. No one can foretell the consequent effect upon Americans of Japanese ancestry, but many of them feel that this is an opportunity to prove their loyalty. For a select group, it may mean a new place in the economic system as a result of the migration eastward and the manpower shortage which has, at least temporarily, put them into new lines of work.

[24]In referring to his study of vocational aptitudes of the *nisei* Strong states, "The general conclusion . . . is that the differences between Japanese and whites, both born in the United States and educated in the same schools of California, are very slight as far as physical, mental, and moral traits can be measured. In fact they are so slight that there is no warrant for supposing that Japanese and whites should enter different occupations because of any differences in their physical or mental capacities" (*Japanese in California*, p. 183).

Chapter VI

PROBLEMS OF MARRIAGE

The Selection of a Mate

For the American-born Japanese there is probably no other experience in life with more potentialities for conflict with the parental generation than that of establishing families of their own.[1] Such experiences are more than just "conflict situations:" they are tied into several larger frames of reference. From the standpoint of a family or a community, the larger perspective is the "Japanese way of life" versus the "American way of life." The Japanese and American ways of setting up new families are so different that what one does and says in this situation reveals in part the extent to which one is Americanized.[2] From the sociological viewpoint, the larger perspective is the process of assimilation. From the standpoint of an individual, these conflicts involve his conception of himself. To carry out a marriage in traditional Japanese style is to express acceptance of parental and traditional authority — both sacred in character. Getting married is one of many experiences in which the individual can see himself as a Japanese, an American, or a Japanese-American.

As we have indicated previously, the two sexes are segregated rather rigidly in the Japanese social scheme. In order to bridge this gap the family engages a "go-between" who serves as its

[1] W. Lloyd Warner distinguishes between the "family of orientation" and the "family of procreation." In the first phase the individual is oriented to his social world; in the second phase he procreates and in turn is concerned with orienting the oncoming generation. See his "Methodology for the Study of Development of Family Attitudes," *Research in Rural Institutions, Scope and Method.*

[2] The reader may wish to refer to the materials dealing with "Child Training," p. 19ff, "Sex Segregation," p. 49ff, and "Traditional Obligations," p. 56ff. The attitudes toward authority of the parents, Old-World notions about sex segregation, and the nature of gift exchange provide a foundation for understanding some of the major problems encountered by the *nisei* when establishing a new family.

representative and through whom it can act impersonally but still serve its own interests.[3] The go-between is also responsible for seeing that the marriage is successful; if a divorce becomes necessary, he attends to the details. He is traditionally an integral part of the whole process of getting married and he receives public recognition for his services in a speech made at the wedding reception. For an adult to arrange a good marriage is defined as a necessary and an honourable achievement.[4] For a person brought up in the American milieu, the Japanese procedure seems an exceedingly impersonal way of selecting a mate. As the Americanization of the *nisei* has increased, the traditional go-between has become a focal point for major conflict between the first and second generations, between the Japanese and the American way of getting married.

The *nisei* is taught that the family is superior to the individual, and this concept applies also in the choice of a spouse. Although the personality is moulded by the acceptance of family authority, parents are not able to exercise the same degree of control over their children as is exercised in Japan. In different aspects of life the children have slipped out from under parental dominance, but

[3]For a detailed description of the rural method of making marriages in contemporary Japan, see Embree, *Suye Mura*, pp. 203-14. He also describes the *naishokiki*, who locates a likely girl before the go-between is approached by the parents. No such terms or functionary was encountered in America. When several informants were asked about it, the term was not even recognized. It does seem, however, that the older members of communities in America are fulfilling that role in an informal manner.

The differences between rural and urban attitudes have not been studied in detail, but it is, from field experiences, the impression of the writer that in rural areas where isolation is fairly pronounced there is a greater tendency to follow the Old-World pattern in making marriages. Considerable data would be required to make a case, for some of the marriages which conformed most closely to the patterns of Japan were observed in large metropolitan areas. There is considerable variation within both rural and urban areas, and the significance of this category has not been established for any sets of attitudes of the Japanese.

[4]A person serving as a go-between certainly has, if the older pattern is followed, many items to think about and investigate. His work is facilitated, however, by the fact that in Japan one does not usually go out of one's own prefecture for a wife, and so it is not too difficult to secure important information. In America there is a network of friends and acquaintances who are always willing to give or secure information.

the process has often gone on so quietly that it is not realized until a major problem, such as marriage is faced.[5]

For the Japanese, courtship is a new experience. Probably the first of the *nisei* who were married were not especially concerned with these problems; then as the group of marriageable people increased, and as assimilation progressed, courtship became an issue with the communities. People were expected to declare themselves in favour of or against the romantic way and, as with other community issues, many of them hedged. But the courtship issue has had from the first, and still has today, a dual character. It involves not only the question of impersonal versus personal ways of selecting a mate, but also questions concerning the changing status of women, and hence the qualifications of a mate. In Japan, a wife means someone to cook, take care of the house, and to bear and bring up children. These qualifications are clearly stereotyped. But in America, the desired qualifications are not so restricted, and there is accordingly much discussion among the Japanese about the definition of the term "womanly." Women are in turn redefining their ideas on the qualifications of a husband.

The unmarried *nisei* woman is caught between two standards. Her parents and others have insisted upon judging her according to Japanese standards — complete acceptance of male dominance, a rather quiet and retiring manner, and some training in arts and in customary household responsibilities. In America it is generally held that in addition to home-making abilities some element of companionship should enter into the marriage, and the wife must often engage in activities which are contrary to Japanese traditions. The conflict between these two standards is seen in the judgments expressed by various individuals and in debates held by college teams. For example, one *nisei* expresses his opinion by explaining:

> My idea is that a girl should complete high school and then go out to learn

[5]While the above was being written information was received about a young couple that had gone together for several years and hoped to be married. Without warning, the engagement of the young lady to a different man was announced in the newspapers. This created considerable discussion in several communities. It was the working out of the parental scheme in accordance with Japanese custom.

domestic work. She should learn to cook American foods and to manage a home. The Japanese cannot conduct themselves at a banquet. They do not know which forks to use. Japanese girls should be more like Occidentals but still keep flower arrangement and tea ceremony. Japanese girls have awful figures. They need to be slimmer and more graceful. They lack personality. They are not expressive.[6]

Another informant thought that the Japanese girls "over here are just right — not too Japanesey, not too Occidental." That stereotyped general qualifications for *nisei* women are yet unformulated is seen in the comparisons and criticisms that women gossip too much, are not at ease with men, are unable to be "good pals like American girls," and are "too trivial." Each of them is scrutinized and judged by the Japanese standard, the American standard, or a mixture of the two.

As has been pointed out, the status of the men is also changing. In the Japanese system the man is superior to the woman, and there are many stories of how they take advantage of this traditionally defined superiority. In Japan women could do little about male dominance, although one does hear occasionally of "henpecked" Japanese husbands. In America, however, on the contrary women have had an opportunity to express their resentment against male dominance. Although there's no body of specified data at hand to support this assumption, it is likely that the women have discussed the qualifications which a husband should meet. One informant told the writer that she preferred to associate with American boys of European ancestry as they were much more courteous and thoughtful. Antagonisms, resentments, and friction indicate the breaking down of sex segregation and changing status. It may be expected that later, when the two sexes have worked out their expectations for each other, this conflict between American and Japanese ways will be reduced and the definitions will be stereotyped. From the Japanese point of view,

[6]In *New World Sun*, October 7, 1937: "Farmer Boy Tells of Ideal Girl" is an article representing a fusion of Japanese and American traits.

this conflict is an indication of the increasing individualism and Americanization of the American-born Japanese.[7]

In American-Japanese life, where the marriage ceremony may be in accordance with the old Japanese way, the American way, or a mixture of the two, a person is expected to choose a scheme which seems to be consistent with his past behaviour. When marriage arrangements following the traditional Japanese pattern are chosen by an individual who appears to be Americanized, the behaviour is said to be "surprising" or "not understandable." Such behaviour creates a great deal of discussion in the community. One such case was reported by an informant.

One of the things which certainly surprised me was the fact that Z. had a *baishakunin* (go-between) marriage. It was the real old style, and I never expected that he would do such a thing. His mother was born in Hawaii too, and that makes it even more difficult to understand. It was not even a marriage where they had a chance to get acquainted. I can see where the *baishakunin* is necessary in the case of a family which is isolated and among only Occidental families, for then the children do not have a chance to meet any marriage partners. But it does seem strange in this case.

Among the *nisei* one finds a variety of attitudes toward the go-between. For example, a married informant said:

These *baishakunin* must think that we are a bunch of animals. What they are is nothing but horsebreeders. They want to get a good stock together so as to have good offspring. I know that they do some good, but that is what it looks like to me. I think we were the first to get married without a *baishakunin*. Because my father had many friends and we had so many second generation friends, I asked them to come over to our house and drink with my parents. Of course I sent out invitations. Then one day I met a friend of my father who had not been invited. I felt awfully funny about it because he congratulated me on my marriage and said that he had heard about it but wondered why my father did not give a big wedding.

This quotation not only expresses a type of attitude toward the go-between but it also shows how the failure to use one may create confusion and friction. One reason for giving a large

[7]Special features in the English section of the vernacular papers discuss these problems. Such features may deal with the suppression of the *nisei* in "boy-girl" relations because of *issei* attitudes. One article referred to the fact that the first generation does not know friendship in the American way, this being more wholesome than the "Japanese sex-conscious way." Another article claimed that the young people are not as "sex-minded" as the older people. See, for example, *New World Sun*, December 15-17, 1935.

wedding is that it avoids the risk of offending anyone: another is that it gives one prestige. But this person chose to be married without compromise: he went so far as to send out his own invitations, thus minimizing as much as possible the role which his parents could play. A young woman makes the following claims:

> I don't intend to have an arranged marriage. I'll do my own choosing, if and when, and where. I do not intend to be rushed. The Japanese mother's attitude is that a daughter is only successful when she is married. If she is not married by a certain age, then everyone says she is defective. I feel resentful about that attitude. After I have done everything I want to do, then I will be ready to marry. About tweny-five years of age would be about ideal. I would not marry a Japan-born man.[8]

Not all the young women interviewed were as precise and articulate as the informant just quoted. Many stated what they claimed to be their preferences, but in some cases they were probably merely saying what they thought most other Americans would say. On the other hand, some *nisei* women wanted to be married in the Japanese way. One young woman from a rural area said that the arranged marriages "were the best . . . If I were going to get married, I would want only an arranged marriage. My father has arranged four marriages already, and they have all turned out real well. That's why I think they're the best kind."[9]

Some *nisei* hedge, attempting to compromise between the two extremes. For example, a twenty-year old university woman stated: "An arranged marriage would be all right if it were about half-way. If my parents took care of it, then I wouldn't worry so much. Even though a marriage is not arranged, the people always make it seem as if it were so, in order that it will look all right."

The development of an attitude like this is an entering wedge for the shift in role of the go-between. Where such compromises are made, the parents as well as the principals are able to maintain

[8]This informant was reared in an American community and then moved into a Japanese community. Later information indicated that she was carrying out her plans for a "career before marriage."

[9]This young woman, at the time the interview was taken, was eighteen years of age and was working as a domestic in one of the larger cities.

their feelings of personal dignity and respect for one another. The structure of basic authority in the family has not changed: the parents maintain their position of dominance while the offspring are kept in the inferior position. The compromise is functional, and it marks the beginning of structural changes in the next generation. The fact that the courtship process is being taken over by the *nisei* indicates that the roll of the go-between is changing. Since the go-between represents family control over the making of marriages, any change in his functions means that the individual is breaking away from the control of his family, or that new devices are being used by the parents to maintain their traditional position of authority and prestige.

But hedging is also found in cases where an individual conforms externally to parental plans but reserves the right of stopping at any point at which he may decide not to go further. The following case is an example; it also tells in detail how go-between marriages operate.

It has always been my notion that I would get married when I was ready, and then I would select my own wife. One morning at breakfast, my mother turned to me and said, "I am going to get you a wife. You need one." I turned to her and said, "Now listen, I don't want to get married yet." But she did not answer, and nothing more was said about it.

One day I received a cablegram from my mother, who was then in Japan, saying that my wife was waiting for me. I felt so funny, I didn't know what to do, but I thought it over and decided that perhaps this was all right and at least I could sort of feel my way along, and if I didn't like it, I could at least stop before getting married. After the cablegram, I received some letters about it, and then the *baishakunin* for our family came over. We talked the problem over and decided to go to the city where the girl lived.

The two of us drove. It all seemed so funny to me, but I thought I would just keep going along to see how it would turn out. When we arrived there, my *baishakunin* went over to see her *baishakunin*, and it was planned that the next day we would have the *mi ai* at a hotel. It was supposed to be the best hotel there.

My cousin is connected with a store in that town, and after the *mi ai* was arranged, I went over to see him. He was surprised to see me, but I told him right away that I had come down to get married. He said, "Well don't be

afraid. I went through with that kind of marriage, and it isn't so bad. You'll get along all right." Then I told him that I was at least going to see how it went along and invited him to come to the *mi ai* as I was afraid. "Sure I'll go with you. When is it?" I told him it was that afternoon, so when the time came we went over to the hotel.

When we arrived at the hotel, we went up to the room, but she had not yet arrived with her *baishakunin* and mother. So I thought, "By golly, I'm going downstairs and wait until she comes up. Then I can get a good look at her and when I come back I can better decide what I want to do." So I went downstairs and stuck around one corner of the lobby waiting for her to come along so I could look her over.

After waiting a little while, here came a girl with an older woman and a man, so I decided that that was she. I watched her rather carefully and waited a few minutes until after they had gone upstairs. Then I decided I had better go up.

When I went into the room, I looked at her and said, "Hello." She looked at me and said, "Hello." She with her *baishakunin* and mother sat in one corner. My *baishakunin* and cousin were sitting in the opposite corner from them, so I went over and sat down with them. We just sat there for a few minutes and looked at each other. It was such a funny feeling. Pretty soon I burst into laughter. Well, I thought, the best way to go about this would be for us to go to a show. So I suggested that we do that by ourselves and a decision could be made later. That was agreeable.

As soon as we were by ourselves, I got right down to fundamentals and said to her, "Now listen, we may as well be open about this. You and I don't have to get married. If you don't want to go through with it, that's all right with me. I'm poor. I have only a small farm and just a shack to live in. If you want to co-operate with me and start from scratch, I think that we can make things go all right. You can think it over and do as you like."

After we came out of the theatre she said it was all right with her. I had decided that things looked all right with me, so we decided to be married. The next day we went to the court house and secured a license and were married at once. We left for home immediately.

Never in my life have I heard of such a speedy marriage. It just about left me speechless. But I know now that I am much better off. My wife is a good one and we get along all right. The old folks evidently have much more experience in these things.

Although I am now head of the family and have some dependents, my mother

will see about marrying my sister and brother since she has had more experience and is a much better judge.[10]

Some informants claim that all *nisei* object to the go-between. Such statements are not always clear, for the informants may be referring to the traditional roles in which a person, most frequently a woman, often had no rights in his or her marriage. The question is, under what circumstances would the informant accept a go-between, or in what part of the process of becoming married would one be used?[11] Associated with the objection to a go-between is a note of fatalism which two *nisei* expressed in this manner:

All *nisei* marriages are arranged. They can't get away from it. Even if there is romance, they have to have a go-between. Whichever side wants marriage first, he gets a go-between to look over the town. But the girl has a chance to say no, if she does not like the boy. I do not like the old system where the principals have no say.

But the parents think that the *baishakunin* is necessary. The *nisei* can't do very much about it as the parents are still dominant and the *nisei* have no money.

It would not be accurate to imply that the go-between is the sole feature for making marriage a community issue. Economic problems are also involved. Where such crucial issues are under discussion, the Japanese can be very excitable, and at times community debate becomes acrimonious. Marriage issues are well recorded by newspaper reports.

[10]The *mi ai* is the meeting of the two principals. Another informant explained that "the meeting can take place in different ways. It can be arranged that the two go to a show. Thus they have an opportunity to be alone and decide whether or not they want to go through with the marriage. Or it may be arranged that one visits the other's family. Sometimes arrangements are made for a girl to pass along a certain street at a certain time. She may not know that someone is watching her with a view to marriage." An informant said that these were the chief ways in which the *mi ai* are held. Many *nisei* women object to this "inspection" part of getting married.

In the interview quoted the informant started his conversation by saying that it seemed unusually strange to look upon oneself as an American and then suddenly have some Old World custom imposed upon one.

[11]In the fall of 1939 and winter of 1940 the writer assisted Miss Tai Inui and Mr. Benjamin Fujimoto in studying in more detail the question stated above. An effort was made to develop schedules which would provide better quantified results. The results were unsatisfactory, although it was shown that a go-between can be brought in at any one of seven different points.

"Baishakunin Sometimes Interfere"

To BROTHER and GIRL FRIEND: The test of real character lies in one's ability to rehabilitate oneself, after having been sent to the very depths of despair, misery, or bad fortune. What has happened to you two has happened to many a *nisei*—with disastrous results to a few very unfortunate ones, with relatively little tragedy to others. Nevertheless, it is something we needs must deplore for when two people are in love with each other and are forced to part through the mere mortal intervention of man, it seems as if someone were taking too much into their hands.

Another's life, another's happiness. These are more than should be taken into comparatively strange hands as so often happens, when the almighty *baishakunin* step into the family picture. Very often, these *baishakunin* are the principals of a wedding, judging by the importance they are bigoted enough to assume; and more than often, they not only do not know one of the real principals of the wedding intimately, but they are also dishonest in representing their family case.

Then again, there are *baishakunin* in marriages for the sake of formality only when there was already a secret engagement between two people, in which case, of course, the formality, if it is considered necessary, is perfectly reasonable.[12]

This newspaper letter indicates that the go-between is often looked upon as a "meddler." Gossip sometimes hints that a certain marriage was made because a father wished to pay a gambling debt, or perhaps a marriage was planned when the children were first born because the two families wanted to have a firmer bond between them. Although it is likely that such instances of "exploitation" are not frequent, they are associated with the office of the match-maker and hence may add to the objections. There are other ways in which this tradition may be exploited, one of which was explained by an informant.

There was a fellow in C. who was putting girls' pictures in an album for which he charged them $15. But this was a bad game. He put in one of the G. girl's pictures, and then told a lot of people about it. Just because she had her picture in, a lot of other girls put theirs in the album. This made the G. girl furious because she had not granted him permission. He came to the office one day and we told him that we thought he ought to stop that business. The *nisei* girls got awfully mad at this fellow, so he stopped it. It was called the "Second Generation Album," and the charge for putting the picture there was a "donation."

[12]From "I'm Telling you Deirdre" column of the *New World Sun*, April 27, 1937. This letter was continued into the next two issues, suggesting that they should "square their shoulders" and "forget it," and try to act differently if it comes their way again.

As the Japanese are family-conscious, a careful eye is directed toward people who are marriageable but unmarried. The postponement of marriage for the sake of securing a college education or for work or in the business world may not seem desirable to immigrant parents. Thus efforts are sometimes made to bolster the traditional marriage system. The following newspaper item supplies a case to show how bolstering may be undertaken.

Nisei Bachelors Beware !

The war against bachelors occupied a local front today with the announcement of the establishment of the first *Nisei* Marriage Bureau by the Southern California Japanese Chamber of Commerce through Kaoru Akashi, Chamber manager. The move was inspired by the problem of finding an outlet for the surplus of unmarried younger women in the community.

The new bureau will contact all the eligible women and list down their qualifications for reference. The *nisei* women will be primarily from the rural districts where the opportunity for social contacts is limited. Under the new make-up, young men and women will be introduced to each other and the paths cleared for a mutual understanding which may or may not lead to ultimate marriage.

Girls will also be allowed to go to dance parties after the introductions, it was hoped by the mass-production *baishakunin*.

Worried parents will be asked to give descriptions of their daughter's age, character, and interests to aid the Bureau in their gigantic task of classifying the women.

Your days of bachelorhood are numbered, my good friends.[13]

The amount of discussion about *nisei* marriages indicates that accommodation and assimilation have developed to the point where there are several patterns of mate-selection. Robert H. Ross and Emory S. Bogardus claim that there are essentially four marriage patterns — the "conformist," the "compromise," the "sudden love," and the *"miaikekon."*[14] Ross and Bogardus believe that their important contribution is the discovery of the *"miaikekon"* or *"interview"* type. According to their description, this seems to be much the same as what is experienced by Occidentals when some friend has "a girl I want you to know" and arranges many meetings so that a romance can develop. In the case of the Jap-

[13]*Rafu Shimpo*, February 28, 1937.

[14]Ross and Bogardus, "Four Types of *Nisei* Marriage Patterns," *Sociology and Social Research*, September-October 1940, pp. 63-6.

anese this is done by the parents without awareness on the part of the young people.

There are as yet inadequate data to determine the accuracy of the claim which Ross and Bogardus set forth. Several informants described how they had to keep certain appointments which turned out to be for a marriage-meeting: in all instances the informant was definitely aware of the fact that this was a "marriage interview." Thus the use of the Japanese phrase *"miaikekon"* for a distinct type of marriage pattern points out a significant problem, but a check of field materials and experiences does not support the claim that this is a "type of marriage pattern." Moreover, Ross and Bogardus make no mention of elopements by people who are faced with a *baishakunin* nor do they take into consideration cases of intermarriage.[15] And it may also be observed that the four types are limited essentially to mate-selection rather than to the entire process of getting married.

Unlike the young people in Japan, the *nisei* have an increasing number of opportunities to associate with the opposite sex and even to formulate their own plans for marriage. Most parents think in terms of the traditional scheme of mate-selection, and some of them occasionally have little regard for the wishes of their children; as a result, some elopements take place. Few elopements have been encountered — only four in ten years in one large city. Inter-marriages between *nisei* and other Americans are few. Accordingly, it appears that the *nisei* have either submitted to or have worked out compromises with parental authority.

In one case, the parents with their children, one of them a marriageable daughter, were returning to Japan to live permanent-

[15]Their type of "sudden love" was applied to the high-school age group. No mention was made of what is usually called elopements, or secret marriages, or of those which are "rebounds." For example it was reported that a *nisei* woman was fleeing to America, leaving behind a marriage arranged by her parents. The report claims her family was "horrified" and that she met an "American man," meaning an Occidental, on the boat en route to America and was married to him. See *New World Sun*, April 5, 1937. The so-called "rebellious" marriage type represented by intermarriage elopement has not been considered by Ross and Bogardus. In studying acculturation with a view to developing "types of patterns," the "rebellious" type presents data of a compelling character.

ly. The daughter was to meet the other members of the family at the boat. Instead of arriving at the boat in time to sail, news came that she had eloped.

In another case an informant reports: "The couple eloped because her mother had some one else chosen for her and his father had some one else for him. They decided that they wanted to get married, so they did. It created an awful furor in the community."

A Japanese minister, discussing marriage problems, cites the following case:

> One couple came to me to be married, because they could not get the consent of the girl's mother. They had the license, and I told them that they were of age and legally could get married. After talking the situation over, they promised to wait a year, and in that time to see if they could get parental consent. They tried for one year, but it was all in vain. So they came to me again, and I told them that if they did not object, I would prefer not to perform the ceremony. I did not want it to appear as if I were breaking up families. So they went to some civil officer and were married. As far as I know they are getting along fine.

Because the *nisei* are tied in so closely with community life and have less occupational mobility than other groups, elopement is kept under control by informal means — chiefly by gossip. One couple explained that for six years their parents refused them permission to marry and that they planned to elope; because they were afraid of what people would say, they decided against it; finally, however, they did get parental consent.

It is generally recognized that the Japanese, even more than other peoples, tend to marry among themselves. Romanzo Adams has shown this to be true for Hawaii[16] and it is generally true for the continental United States with the exception of New York City.[17] In western Washington, for example, with a

[16]Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii.*

[17]For a study of the New York area, see Ishikawa, "Study of the Intermarried Japanese Families in U.S.A.," *Cultural Nippon,* October 1935, pp. 457-87. This investigator claims that there is a two-to-one ratio of inter-marriage in New York but "the dependability of the figures is doubted by the leaders of the Japanese community because of the large number of the illegitimate residents who were afraid to report their identity to the government, and according to these leaders, the intermarriage has more frequently taken place among them and therefore the ratio between the Japanese-Japanese and Japanese-non-Japanese marriages is probably as high as 1 to 1."

population of about 14,000 Japanese, only four second-generation males and four second-generation females were recorded as having married non-Japanese over a period of ten years. It is interesting that the four men had all married blondes. The women had married a Chinese of the second generation, a Negro, a White, and a Filipino. Three cases of Japan-born males marrying non-Japanese women were also listed.

The attitudes of the parents, the sentiments of most *nisei*, and the close contact that usually exists between Japanese and other Japanese all indicate that intermarriage is not yet sanctioned. Nevertheless it is an issue on which there is recurring discussion. The *New World Sun*, for instance, carried such stories as "How Some People Think of Racial Intermarriage," "Successful Inter-racial Unions Will Take Four or More Generations," and "American Columnist Defends Inter-racial Marriage." Most *nisei* approve theoretically of intermarriage because it signifies equality, but the approval is usually "for the other fellow but not for me." Some would like to marry non-Japanese but cannot bring themselves to act in opposition to Japanese sentiment or to face the risks which intermarriage may involve. Of the unmarried young men interviewed, only one was considering intermarriage for himself.

Since intermarriages are prohibited by law in some states — in all the Western states except Washington — and since there is now a more even sex distribution among Japanese in this country, the problem has not been acute. There is concern and curiosity about it, but in general it may be said that for the *nisei* there will be very little intermarriage.[18]

At present it is the consensus that the *nisei* are gaining more freedom than was permitted by the traditional mode of mate-selection in Japan. It should be repeated, however, that the choice of a spouse is closely associated with the traditional definition of familial duty, and that fulfilment of duty is more necessary than

[18]Further discussion of intermarriage can be found in Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, pp. 216-19; Steiner, *Japanese Invasion;* Strong, *Second Generation Japanese Problem*, pp. 254f. See especially Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii.*

the realization of the wishes of any one person.[19] Since this is so basic in Japanese society, it may be expected to carry over to other generations, but variation within families will give rise to divergent patterns of mate-selection. These patterns are not particularly meaningful unless linked with family ideals, family and individual economic success, variations in community organization, and psychogenic factors. At present the status of both men and women is in the process of change. The traditional matchmaker appears to be losing some of the importance which his office carried in Japan. With these changes in status, there is generated a personal conflict expressed in antagonism, bitter invective, and schemes for resolving the friction.

The Wedding Ceremony

The discussion has thus far been limited to mate-selection. This activity, however, is only a preliminary to the marriage ceremony which in itself involves significant adustments to American and Japanese ways. In the traditional Japanese scheme of life, marriage involves not only the acceptance of new obligations within the limited family circle, but also the creation of new obligations because of gift-exchanging procedures. From John Embree's brief statement about gift exchanges in Japan, we may suspect that in the United States the patterns were rather confused and varied prior to evacuation.[20] This variation was due to individual interpretation and conformance, for the obligations created by the receipt of gifts, which total significant sums of money, were discussed as handicapping the *nisei* at the very start of their married life. Furthermore, the second generation was not old enough to have developed fully the Emily Posts of the communities so that perplexed people could look to an arbiter of convention. And finally on account of adjustments in Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian customs, all of which could be mixed in any one ceremony,

[19]For example, one writer refers to the "tragedy of arranged marriage," and says of the matchmakers "how I hate them all." No one is in love with a stranger, but such marriages are viewed as "family obligation, as duty" (*New World Sun*, March 16, 1937).

[20]See pp. 56-63.

the chief types of acceptable marriage ceremonies had not been fully developed.

Japanese parents look upon the wedding ceremony as the point at which they start their son or daughter out in life. It is an auspicious occasion and everything is done to start the young couple "successfully."[21] At such times the family purse is opened wide, and it is often claimed that even the exceedingly poor peasants in Japan go far beyond their means so that the "family honour" may be upheld or its prestige retained by putting on a big wedding.[22] Old World rules regulating these practices have in America received a great deal of individual interpretation and at times are nothing more than personal wishes sanctioned by a very broad principle.[23] Furthermore, parents have not all remained on the same economic level, some are more ambitious than others, and of course their American-reared children also have acquired a variety of ideas about the appropriate character of wedding ceremonies and practices, thus opening these ceremonies to the play of community rivalry.

In the village life of Japan, it was a simple matter to determine

[21]Preparations vary, of course, by class status. For detailed information about an upper-class wedding in Japan, see Baroness Ishimoto's *Facing Two Ways;* for a sketchy statement of a lower-class wedding, see Sugimoto's *Daughter of the Nohfu.* In America the weddings are essentially middle and lower-class, but see *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* June 24, 1940, for a description of a formal Shinto garden wedding. It is likely that only a few ceremonies of that character have been used in America.

[22]Embree, *Suye Mura,* pp. 205-6, discusses the gift exchange which is followed at weddings. He does not, however, give any estimate as to how families may go beyond their resources for a big wedding and elaborate gifts. He indicates that such events are well regulated by custom.

[23]For example, an informant, who herself had two married daughters, told of a father who demanded a "bride-price" so large that his daughter could not marry. She was in love with a man who refused to pay such a price "as he came from a good family." Since the girl could not marry, she attempted to commit suicide by taking poison but was not successful. After her recovery she was allowed to marry the man. The informant said the general price went down: "In 1921 and 1922 it went up to more than $1,000 but has since declined. I think it was due to this suicidal attempt."

One married informant said that he gave $200 to the go-between who took it to his prospective father-in-law, who in turn returned one-half of it. One other couple stated that the parents of each gave them $100 and this they used for expenses. No exchange of money was made between the two families, all the money going directly to the newly married couple. Embree makes no reference to any exchange of this character.

to whom one was obligated. In America, however, contacts are much more numerous and it is more difficult to define obligations. Then, too, in the communities in America, because of lack of precise cultural patterning which would define attendance, weddings tend to be community functions, and so they have been larger than would have been the case in Japan. Such changed conditions and the wider range of social contacts has resulted in much discussion and many "problems" related to weddings and wedding suppers. The following description was given by a fairly well-known *nisei*.

> Now imagine having 300 people at a wedding, and then giving a big reception at a restaurant. Some of those wedding supper bills amounted to over $500. The *sake* costs fifty cents per jug, and they bring out hundreds of them. Usually the *sake* bill is larger than the food bill.
>
> Sometimes we receive an invitation to a wedding, and we hardly know the principals. Of course we do not go to most of them, but if we did go we would have to take a gift, and then the couple would be obligated to us. One wedding not long ago had an attendance of over 600 people. The church vestibule was so full of gifts that there was insufficient room, and gifts had to be piled inside and downstairs. It will take them a long, long time to pay that all back. Then on top of that they had a big wedding supper bill.

In discussing weddings in general another *nisei* spoke about this same wedding:

> . . . The people stood around and said right there in the church, "Why did they invite me? I hardly know these people." One fellow got a little too much *sake* and called the groom a robber.
>
> Whenever they have these large Japanese weddings, the people go from house to house making all sorts of comments and criticisms. At the one last Sunday, people were talking about how the girl lacked poise. The ceremony went along all right but at the reception the bride and groom seemed quite happy and appeared to be enjoying themselves. She brushed some dust or powder off his coat collar and straightened his collar a bit, and so some of the first generation went around and said she did not have poise and that she did not know how to act in public. All these things are so trivial and petty that we don't like it.

The same informant also spoke of the amount of "gate-crashing" one sees at the church weddings. How widespread it is cannot be said, but within closely integrated communities conventional limits cannot be defined easily.

Although there are no specific data to show a trend toward

smaller and less expensive weddings, such a trend appears to have started. Basically it is more important just to marry than to marry with a great display. Although the parents exerted pressure, as one friend expressed it, to have a large wedding, they did, shortly before evacuation, show a willingness to reduce expenses as they noted the number of unmarried *nisei* women who were getting beyond the traditional marrying age. The cost of marriage, like the go-between, has been widely discussed in meetings of various associations, at conventions and in the newspapers. The *New World Sun*, for instance, has printed such articles as "Most *nisei* prefer a simple wedding," "Japanese wedding receptions too costly, too much *sake*, too long speeches," and "Gate crashers."

Of twenty married couples with whom the question was discussed, two claimed that they had not more than 25 people at their wedding, three reported 50 to 100 in attendance, one couple said specifically "110 people," two gave estimates of 200 to 250, two others estimated almost 400, while one couple admitted a "large reception." Eight of the couples would not hazard any guess, but said that the number was "large." Of these twenty couples only one reported "just the family group." Since no one attends such functions without presenting a gift, numerous gifts are received and it is necessary to keep a list or book so that no errors will be made in reciprocating. These wedding gifts create obligations. Even though the gift itself may represent payment of an obligation of the donor, the books cannot be balanced: such neat distinctions of starting and ending obligations cannot be made. They are pervasive and continue through generations, although some *nisei* have attempted to curb the list and to narrow the circle.[24]

[24]Of twenty couples from whom sufficient information could be obtained, eleven accepted the practice of gift exchange without any complaint, three felt that it created hardships but conformed, three followed the plan but on a selective basis "because of business connections," while one couple followed a plan of selective conformance if obligated more than once and then reciprocated only with modest gifts. The twentieth couple objected, did not conform, and practised gift exchange only with family members and intimate friends, using modest gifts.

Old World Domicile

Thus far we have discussed the problems of the *nisei* which arose because parents attempted to impose Old World traits upon their children. In the process of establishing a new family, the *nisei* were also faced with the problem of finding a home. They must give consideration to the economic situation, social discrimination, and Old World customs about living at home.

At one time the Japanese may have followed the large family system so well illustrated by the well-to-do Chinese, but the evidence seems to indicate that at least for some centuries the smaller household unit has been more commonly found. G. B. Sansom claims that by the fifteenth century the clan system became unwieldy and the small household appeared as the important social unit.[25]

The Japanese use the term *honke* to designate those members of the family who are living away from the home property.[26] In general the eldest son, or other selected heir, stays at home while other members may go out and set up their own households. This whole system is reflected in the Civil Code of Japan,[27] and its extent is indicated in recent Japanese statistics which stated that the average size of the family for Japan proper was 4.89 in 1920 and 5.01 in 1930.[28] Other reports indicated that economic factors had been operating to force members of the expanding family to seek elsewhere for economic support of a household.[29]

[25]Sansom, *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, p. 356.

[26]This is projected on to a national level in the form of a fiction that the Japanese nation is one big family: " . . . all Japanese are distantly related to the Imperial Family, which is the *so-honke* or chief family, all others being *bunke* or branch families" (Reed, *Kokutai: A Study of Certain Sacred and Secular Aspects of Japanese Nationalism*, p. 224).

[27]See deBecker, *Annotated Civil Code of Japan, chap.* III, p. 17.

[28]Quoted from the *Fifty-third Imperial Statistical Annual* in a bulletin (Tokyo, 1935) of *Jinko Mondai Kenkyu Kai* (Association for the Study of Population Problems). This, however, does not give definite information about the number of families domiciled under one roof. The figures refer to the head of the household and the members of each household.

[29]For example, Hirota in an unpublished paper, "A Communistic Village in Japan," translates the evidence given in an article published in Japanese in the magazine *Kaizo*, February, 1930: " . . . it is the parental affection which tries to keep the children from leaving the village. Hence, the result is the production of so-called gross-family . . . but this system of gross-family is temporary. As soon as children are born to the young couple the insufficient accommodation necessitated the couple's establishing branch houses and emigrating to Tanabu . . . This phenomenon portrays the grouping psychology of the people. but the dismemberment of the gross-families is inevitable due to the economic conditions."

In America the traditional arrangement often leads to difficulties, probably because of the increasing Americanization of the *nisei*. Newly married *nisei* living with the husband's parents are more often found in rural areas. Of the twenty couples studied, only five were living with parents in the parent's home, while seven were living in apartments, three in rented houses, two were buying homes, and four owned their homes. Problems of relationship with parents after marriage arise where couples are living with parents. One *nisei* approaching thirty years of age, made these statements:

When we were first married, we lived with our folks on the farm. The folks lived downstairs and we lived upstairs. Then my brother came home with his wife, and it got pretty crowded. We then moved him into a little house close by, but I haven't been happy since I was married. There are just too many people in that house. My brother's wife was not a good girl, and although I was the eldest son, I didn't think my wife ought to be imposed upon so much. It was so tough living there that I was never happy. So we left home and now I've got to get a job. My folks would welcome us back but I wouldn't want my father to know that I was under hardships and had to go back because I couldn't get a job. If they want me to help them on the farm, I will. - But you know a fellow can't collect wages from his folks. They need my help and I am willing to accept the responsibilities but if I went back without a job, my father would know that I wasn't much good . . .

This informant also explained how his wife had gone back to live with her parents. In view of the fact that they were expecting a child within several weeks, the situation was even more critical. Another informant explained that these particular parents were rather hard taskmasters and difficult to get along with. It was not merely living at home but the whole complex of attitudes, including the relationships between the two generations and the fact that the sons worked without monetary remuneration, that created difficulty. Another informant reported:

My first marriage blew up after one year. Too many people under one roof. Right around here I know of four more that are all ready to blow up. It just can't be done. Some of those fellows have come to me and asked what they should do and I told them that they ought to get some backbone and clear out. They can't make it go. The old folks get after them all the time. They quarrel about everything, and one thing just leads to another. Either they want them to snap up the work a little, or criticize them saying they don't do this,

and they don't do that right. Seems as if they just fight all the time. They talk directly to the son's wife, and of course, they being his parents, the young husband doesn't do anything about it. They have all this trouble in Japan too only you don't hear so much about it. My first marriage blew up after a year, and I've been married again and have some children. The first wedding cost me $1,000. I had a little money then, but it just about breaks a guy. The second time I got married, I told no one. Just went off and got married. That's the simplest way.

John Paris, in his novel *Kimono*, gives some description of the friction within Japanese families. The mother-in-law's relation to and treatment of her daughter-in-law are already well known. Difficult as this was in the traditional Japanese family, there was little or no escape from the system, but undoubtedly there were certain compensations in such relationships. In contrast to the foregoing statements from *nisei*, a Japan-reared *kibei*, living in a rural area had quite a different reaction.

We were not married like the Americans. We were married in the Japanese way . . . I lived with my mother-in-law. My husband's eldest brother, wife and family lived there also. I did not find this hard as do many of the second generation. We lived there for four years. When my eldest brother-in-law thought it was too crowded, we moved into a small house next door. Although we had bought furniture, we did not take it with us as we didn't think it was right to take it as long as my husband's mother could use it. When we lived there, my brother-in-law had charge of the buying and of the house, and the eldest brother had charge of the other things. You see, I couldn't get bossy because my mother-in-law and my sister-in-law were higher than I was, but this didn't bother me. Sometimes my sister-in-law would be cross, though not intentionally, but rather because she did not feel so well at times.

Part of the complexity of the traditional system is the scheme by which the eldest son, or chosen inheritor, inherits not only family assets but also family liabilities. In the case of three of the husbands interviewed, this Japanese custom was followed rather strictly. The Japanese mode of doing business is built upon this principle: Japanese are not supposed to seek recourse by declaring themselves bankrupt. One of the three informants said that he worked in his father's restaurant for four years. Then, upon the death of his father, he had to accept the responsibility for the family.

I was weighed down with the responsibilities I had to take over, but it was probably good for me to have such responsibilities . . . I am still paying off my father's debts. Altogether they amounted to four or five thousand dollars. This all happened when I was about thirty years of age, and although I had a younger brother to help me some, it was not very much. My older sister was married and living in Japan, so she couldn't help. To add to all this we had a lot of sickness. I had two sisters die while they were in school. If a person dies quickly from an illness it isn't so bad, but if he is sick for two years or so, then it is very expensive. These things make a man toe the mark, but in any case it seems that if you have too much money, you get spoiled and aren't worth very much.

The second informant claimed that he took over a debt of $3,000 but, as times were good, he managed to pay it off within a year. But, he added, "that can't be done now." The third of the married men interviewed assumed $18,000 in debts; after looking over all of the assets he called a meeting of the creditors and informed them that he thought he could manage to pay off, rather slowly, some $4,000 or $5,000 but that they could expect no more.

It is not claimed that the few *nisei* who were living with parents and the three who had assumed debts are representative of a well-defined trend of following Old World traits. But these problems were discussed in the community, and they entered into *nisei* conceptions of self. It was part of their lot as Americans who had parents of Japanese ancestry. Although there were trends toward Americanization, we should not under-estimate the conservative character of Japanese family life. Any family life tends to be conservative, even when not fortified by discrimination and well-integrated community opinion. It is therefore not surprising that many *nisei* conformed to parental ideas in the selection of a mate, the acceptance of obligations, and the responsibilities associated with the traditional family system.

American Homes

In the United States, prior to evacuation, the Japanese were still in the process of settling down. Settlement had not been completed because the Japanese frequently looked upon Japan as a possible place to go to for economic reasons. The shuttling

back and forth of immigrants across the Pacific Ocean indicated that ties with the homeland had not been broken — in part because of traditional sentiments, and in part because of the problems attendant on settling in America. As Miyamoto points out, the hope of "getting rich quick" was rather prevalent, and to return to Japan after having made money in America would increase one's prestige at home as well as make possible the establishment of a small business in Japan. From one of his informants, Miyamoto quotes the following:

> All of them came here with the idea that they would stay for about three years, and then go back to Japan to set up their own businesses. Among all whom I know, I can say that not one in a hundred stayed here all the time. The rest of them went back to Japan after a few years, and they came to America again only after they had failed in their native land, and found that life in Japan was harder than life over here. But even then, I think in the bottom of their hearts they wanted to go back to Japan to live.[30]

After the passage of the National Immigration Act of 1924, the Japanese Association in Seattle took a census and included a question concerning the family's intention to remain in America. Of the 2,000 families listed, 12.9 per cent. wanted to return but had no immediate prospects of doing so, 23.6 per cent. "would return to Japan," and 63.5 per cent. stated they were "undecided." No single family stated that it "definitely would not go back."[31]

[30] *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle*, p. 85.

[31] *Ibid.* Strong reports in *Japanese in California*, p. 122, that 5 per cent. of 1,457 *issei* intended to change their work, and of this small percentage, only one-half intended to return to Japan. His figure of stability, 16.1 average years in the present occupation, might confirm this. He also states "one of our white interviewers reports that, despite all their hardships and the abuses they have lived through, the first generation are satisfied to stay on in their present occupations." The writer's data indicate that many of them will continue to live here. They cannot do anything else. But our data also indicate much discussion among the *nisei* and unpredictable behaviour on the part of the *issei* about returning to Japan. The material quoted by Miyamoto relates to early days and to the period immediately after the agitation regarding the National Immigration Act. But it is not certain that Strong's data are accurate, as the Japanese would not like to admit to a white or even a strange Japanese investigator that they looked upon America merely as a place where they could fill their coffers. Strong's data were taken in 1930, and it is entirely possible that the period between 1925 and 1930 brought about a significant change in attitudes because of the problems of adjusting the maturing children to occupational problems, and hence a growing concern on the part of the parents about the ability of the children to get along in America.

Although these figures point to the prevalence of a feeling of impermanence, there was considerable difference in attitudes. Some immigrants recognized clearly that there were better opportunities in America not only for earning a living but also for rearing a family. Some of the parents felt that their first duty was to build a home for their children. Among the *nisei*, the terms "money-makers" and "home-makers" have been used to distinguish between the immigrants who sacrificed physical comforts for the sake of saving money in order to return to Japan and those who felt that money should be spent to make their homes approximate American standards for similar incomes. In any case, there were obvious differences in the homes in which the *nisei* were reared, and as a result of his contacts with other Japanese or with Americans, any *nisei* was able to recognize into which class his home fell. As in the case of other immigrant groups, superior or inferior housing entered directly into the self-conception of the children. Many of the *nisei* were disposed to believe that if their parents had planned to remain permanently in America, their housing conditions would have been better and other problems would have minimized. In a document made available by Miyamoto, one of the leaders stated:

> I would say that the weakness of the Japanese community lies fundamentally in one fact: the uncertainty of the first generation as to whether they should spend their life-time in America or whether they should eventually go back to Japan. Maybe this is at the bottom of all their troubles. These Japanese can't make up their minds that they have come to America to stay forever and must make their homes here. Rather they always have in the back of their minds the idea that some day, when they have made enough money, they will finally go back to Japan to spend their last days. While they have that in their mind, they are not willing to help build up this community, to stake all-in-all on these soils.

Some Japanese parents who came to America under difficult conditions found it possible to improve their lot; others who came under equally difficult conditions lacked the outlook which demanded improved standards of living even when these became possible. Strong reports, for example:

> In one country district the interviewer states the value of the homes, for the most part, to be between $50 and $250. Such are usually leased with the

land and are left on the property when the lease expires. Such homes are unpainted shacks of two or three rooms with adjoining garage, or perhaps with one-room or two-room sleeping quarters nearby. There is in addition a bath-house, about 6 x 10 feet in size, containing a large metal tub about 4 feet deep and 5 feet across, oval or round. This is so placed that the water can be heated in it by an outside wood fire. To prevent burning the feet a wooden grill is placed in the bottom of the tub. Bathing takes place just before retiring every night, and of course, all use the same bath water. Since the Japanese wife usually works in the field, the home is not spick and span, but it is usually clean and fairly well-ordered when one considers the field work she has to do. The children are usually very dirty — face, nose, clothes — and generally present a bit more woeful spectacle than do white children of similar circumstances. Again, of course, we may say "mother works." There is little or none of the turmoil of an American home.[32]

The foregoing account is often referred to as a description of the "typical Japanese farm home." There are no data for making any comparisons with how the immigrants had been housed in Japan. In the case of the city homes, we know that the Japanese were not located in the most desirable districts, nor were they occupying the latest houses constructed in any city. Because of economic conditions, social discrimination, and other factors, the Japanese city home did not seem to be comparable with that of the average American family with similar income. But we are more interested in the *nisei* reaction to housing conditions than in the conditions themselves. In writing an analysis of her family, one young woman spent considerable time discussing the house in which the family lived.

The house we occupy at present is an exceedingly modest two-story frame building. The exterior needs paint very badly, but the interior is well-kept and clean. Every one of us hates the house because it is so inconvenient, and the heating system is so old-fashioned. Every time we want coal or wood or anything from the basement we go via the kitchen door outside and then to the basement. My two brothers are forever bringing fuel up, always with an added word or two about "why don't we move?" Heating is done by stoves, one in the kitchen and one in the dining room. The other rooms are as cold as the outdoors. Lately, it has been mother's extreme desire to move

[32]Strong, *Japanese in California*, p. 134, footnote 2. American people frequently refer, as Strong does, to the fact that the members of the family "all use the same water." This should be corrected to indicate that each person washes himself completely with soap and water before entering the tub. The bath which Strong describes is water for soaking and not for cleansing oneself.

to a more decent place, but father is not enthusiastic at all. He rationalizes his set idea of not moving by saying that when we all get married and have homes of our own we'll appreciate our own home all the more, whether it be modest or luxurious.

Our home is a combination of a work centre and a gathering place for the family and friends. It is by no means a "haven of rest." Father does not make a distinction between a place of business and a home, so our house is always cluttered up with business papers, files, old documents, experiments, samples, and so on. Our individual schedules and plans are often interrupted by his asking us to do some kind of work for the office. My older brother who is a "homey" person is always wishing that father would make a distinction between home and office. But, as far as father is concerned, earning a living is of prime importance and so he continues in his usual manner.

The Japanese are thrifty people, but unlike the father quoted above, some of them would have liked to move into better homes. One informant reported:

My father is a fairly prosperous business man, being the head of an importing and exporting firm, and is from the *samurai* class in Japan. My mother is from what we might term the landed gentry or landowning class in Japan . . . Because of the feeling towards my race, we could not move into a better residential district if we wanted to. We could probably find someone who would be willing to rent us a house, but because of the unfriendly attitude of those residing in the neighbourhood, we would be less happy than living in a less modern dwelling.

Since the main field work for the present study was completed, the Seattle Housing Authority has completed its survey of housing in that city. A newspaper article on some of the findings of the survey reads in part:

Due to various factors, the minor races in Seattle, as in most cities, are very poorly housed. Seventy per cent. of the Japanese live in dwelling units which are considered substandard by definitions used by the Real Property Survey. Sixty-five per cent. of the Negroes come under this classification, as do twenty-five per cent. of the "White" race . . .

As a rule, better housing conditions are found among the home-owners than among the tenants. This is especially true with the Japanese, since only one-third of the dwellings occupied by owners are substandard . . . The number of home-owners among the Japanese, however, is quite small. There is only one owner to every thirteen tenants . . .

Despite the fact that the Japanese occupy the highest percentage of substandard dwellings, their median income for one year is the largest of the racial groups. For the Japanese, the median is $1,201.00 . . . which is more

than twice the median income of $503.00 for the Negroes, and considerably more than the median of $834.00 for the Whites.

An attempt will not be made to explain fully this rather unbalanced picture of the preponderance of below-standard housing among the Japanese in spite of their comparatively high incomes. But of course, social pressure is known to restrict any minor race from the more desirable residential areas, regardless of income, and too, it can be generally said of the Japanese that incomes are diverted into other channels, such as education and community obligations, rather than into high rents.[33]

It is generally agreed that the *nisei* were on the whole underprivileged in respect to housing. The prevailing view among the *nisei* was that the first step toward getting a good home was to get the parents to decide that they intended to stay in America. The second step was to persuade the parents to develop an interest in improving the standard of living. Newspaper discussions about the problem of housing are illuminating.

Rain! Rain! It didn't make any difference to him. Nothing meant anything to him tonight. The world was dead to Walter Morita.

Going home meant trouble and he was heading for trouble. This morning his dad had demanded that he should bring home $5.00 to help pay a domestic bill. A bitter argument arose when Walter refused. Wasn't he helping the family enough, giving half of his weekly salary? He denied himself the pleasures his friends enjoyed — giving money, time, and hope to his weather-beaten family.

His father draws a good salary from the clothing store downtown . . . Walter had wondered, many times, why the whole family hadn't been stricken by the dreaded tuberculosis . . . living in the shanty under the present conditions — how many years, he couldn't remember.

. . . Where was his dad's money? Saturday night he never comes home before midnight. Mother claims that he plays "hana" at the nearby "clubhouse."

. . . The smell from the nearby soap factory nearly stabbed his brain. He pushed open the door. His mother welcomed him and rushed into the kitchen to set the table . . . Brushing his damp hair back, he seated himself at the linoleum covered table. There before him was a bowl of rice, a plate of boiled mackerel (he had mackerel the night before) and several pieces of daikon "otsukemono."

Walter closed his eyes as everything clouded his mind and tears flooded his eyes. Then suddenly he banged his fist on the table and yelled:

"Goddammit! I can't eat it! I won't! I deserve something better than

[33]Yasumura, "Japanese Mostly in Substandard Homes Here; Two Reasons Advanced," *Japanese-American Courier*, January 1, 1941, p. 10.

this after having worked hard all day." He snatched his rain-soaked coat and dashed out into the street again . . .[34]

According to a different writer, "had the pioneer Japanese taken greater pride in building and owning beautiful homes for their wives and children, our generation would not suffer so much from living in squalid quarters."[35]

The column called "I'm Telling you, Deirdre" contains a discussion of attitudes of shame regarding one's home.

Last time we had told you that we were going to be invited to our charming "hakujin" (white person) friend's home for supper, did we not? Well, we finally went and what a surprise it was when we entered that lovely, quaint, and artistic home of hers. Of course, we had known beforehand that our friend was quite well-to-do, but even so we were not prepared to find ourselves in such a charming place!

. . . We were glad after all that we had invited Mildred over to our home first before we had been invited to hers, for, come to think of it now, we might have been reluctant to bring her to our humble abode after having seen her lovely home. (We make this admission despite the fact that we only recently declared that we *nisei* should not be "ashamed to invite our American friends into our homes," etc ! !)

. . . And such a congenial atmosphere it was . . . We came away from that delightful visit impressed by the refinement, culture, and high intelligence of our two hostesses, who are withal the most democratic, sincere, and kindly Americans whom we have met in a long, long time.[36]

This writer urged *nisei* not to be "ashamed of your homes" and other writers urged the *nisei* to avoid feelings of inferiority. Yet the *nisei* were in a comparative situation and the feeling of being ashamed could not be eliminated by moralizing. A second interesting point about the article quoted above is the use of stereotypes — "lovely," "quaint," "artistic," "congenial." No doubt these were the impressions which the writer felt upon going to such a home. The significant point is that they were based upon a comparison and were the current adjectives for indicating qualities which the *nisei* missed in his own environment.

[34]"*Nisei* Melodrama," in *New World Sun*, March 16, 1936. This column contains many *nisei* experiences. In preparing them for publication, Mr. Buddy Uno, the columnist, eliminated any material which might have identified the people involved. One of the *Survey of Race Relations* documents was used in this column.

[35]*Japanese-American Courier*, July 24, 1937, "On the Matter of Homes."

[36]*New World Sun*, March 21, 1936.

The well-organized Japanese families have been much publicized among the whites, and accredited with the low rate of Japanese criminality. The family life of the Japanese has been pictured as full of quiet, contentment, and charm. One other aspect is included in the stereotype: the mutual respect and co-operation of parents and children. But these are selected aspects of Japanese family life which have served as symbols of superiority for the *nisei*. On the other hand, the physical equipment and environment of "home," the conditions of living, which have given the *nisei* a sense of inferiority, have made them feel at a disadvantage, as underprivileged. Consequently oratorical contestants have used frequently the "better homes" theme.[37] Strong has pointed out that when children go to high school, they start campaigning at home for the family to move. The *nisei* have more and more been insisting upon taking over standards of living commensurate with their incomes.

In this connection it is significant that the Annual Holiday Issue of the *Rafu Shimpo*, December 24, 1937, was dedicated to the *nisei* business men and the *dai sansei* (third generation), "For a More Abundant Year." The front-page article began, "Upon the arrival of the third generation, now in the first stages of infancy, may the adult *nisei* guide their aspirations for the development of intelligent, loyal citizens." And part of these aspirations were to overcome the "squalid quarters" in which they had been reared.

The general impression of those familiar with the family life of the *nisei* is that class differentiations were becoming evident before the evacuation crisis developed. With improved incomes, control of land, and less impermanence in urban occupations, the young married couples were expressing their assimilation into American life by establishing better homes. It is not yet clear how fully the economic losses due to evacuation will stop what seems to have been a definite trend toward improved homes.

[37] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1936; also *ibid.*, December 6, 1937 on "Kinds of Houses."

For thousands of *nisei*, the necessity of finding a new home may mean getting a better one when resettlement is completed; at this time data are not available to support any prediction. Fortunately such surveys as those of the Seattle Housing Authority give a basis for future comparisons.

Chapter VII

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Conflict between the two Generations

The process of Americanization has, of course, been going on more rapidly for the *nisei* than for their parents. The latter had held a variety of attitudes toward Americanization. Some had facilitated the process while others had been eager to make certain that their offspring should become good Japanese. The difference between parents and their children may be thought of as a cultural gap, and this was accentuated by certain differences in legal status. Prior to evacuation the cultural gap resulted in conflict between the two generations. All immigrant parents suffer many frustrations: in the case of the Japanese, the parents have no doubt compensated for many of the tensions experienced by exerting pressure on the second-generation; the children, in turn, have not always accepted this dominance without resentment.

Two other factors have been important in determining *issei-nisei* relations. First, the *issei* group is a much older group on the average, and the well-defined cultural attitudes toward older people which exist in Asiatic civilizations have operated in *issei-nisei* relations. Second, the *nisei's* period of economic dependence upon the *issei* has been reinforced and extended by discrimination, which has forced them to remain within the community. In more recent years, a greater number of the community's income sources have been taken over by *nisei*, and they can now be expected to have an increasing influence in community affairs. It appears that the so-called "period of succession" has started, marked by such newspaper notices and comments as "first generation now recognize ability of *nisei*" or "first *nisei* elected to board of directors." This trend of succession was well defined by the beginning of 1941.[1]

[1]Although succession was well underway, conflict was still present. The conflict between the two generations has complicated the problem of administering the relocation centres of the War Relocation Authority.

When the orders for evacuation were issued, there were no first-generation agencies to serve as a liaison group. Many of the *issei* leaders had been interned, and so it was only natural that the older of the *nisei* should take over as much community leadership as evacuation authorities required. It was also the older *nisei* who dealt with the United States House of Representatives Select Committee Investigating National Defence Migration, commonly called the Tolan Committee. Furthermore, many of the older *nisei* found it necessary to assume full responsibility for their parents and younger siblings. Thus later research may show that after a decade of friction with the first generation the period of full family and community responsibility opened for the *nisei* with enforced migration and evacuation.

From the viewpoint of the *issei*, the *nisei* have been from the beginning a problem group. This has been seen most clearly in the case of the *kibei nikei*. It was also manifest in the various conflicts surrounding the language schools, in the issues concerning jobs and marriages, and in the attitudes toward world problems. In ways both subtle and overt, the *nisei* have learned that they are "different," and to a large extent they have learned this from the first generation. In other words, the "*nisei* problem" is something a *nisei* starts learning about early in family and community life, even before he comes into contact with white Americans.

It is significant that the *Rafu Shimpo* sent out an "opinionnaire" to "probe *issei* 'faults'." It is, of course, recognized that news editors and writers are always trying to evolve some scheme to produce good copy; thus their choice of this subject seems to indicate public interest in resentment and discussion of "*issei* faults." Some of the comments returned by readers are given here.

Lack system, failure to acquire even a smattering knowledge of English language to aid in daily as well as business life.

Opportunities in many fields to express and enrich themselves neglected.

Lack of co-operation; no interest in such organizations as the P.T.A.; low standard of living; lack of stronger desire to improve themselves.

Failure to appreciate the *nisei's* true place in the American community.

No intentions of establishing selves permanently in America; lack of making friendly negotiations.

Refusal to establish permanent residence, i.e., to build own homes; short-sightedness in planning the future of their offspring; general plebeian attitude. They have none that can be considered outstanding.

Lack of foresight, lack of co-operation in solving vital problems such as farm issues, strikes, and so on.

Failure to realize that in sending their children to American schools, the *nisei* became Americanized in thought and action, naturally conflicting with the *issei*.[2]

The lack of a statistical report on the foregoing "opinionnaire" limits its utility, but the statements bring out the fact that there are underlying tensions between the two generations and that the *issei* serve as a generalized symbol toward which resentment can be directed. No *nisei* would be likely to direct resentment or antagonism toward his own parents or close friends, but it seems that almost anything can be said about "the *issei*."

Despite the Japanese tradition of respect for elders, in America the two generations are growing apart. The younger poeple are developing their own ideas of what an adult should be, and these do not coincide with what they find in their communities. For example, the *nisei* complain about *issei* drunkenness, which is tied in with a general notion of vulgarity.[3] Gambling also comes in for its share of criticism. It is claimed that much money which should have been used for improved living conditions and family care is lost through the use of alcohol and the tendency to gamble. In addition, considerable money has been sent to Japan to support children there, for investments and various funds, for relief, or for comfort bags for soldiers.[4]

[2] *Rafu Shimpo*, December 24, 1936, p. 7. No statistical tabulation was given, but just a short digest. The opening paragraph of the report read: "There is seeming unanimity in the belief that the achievement of the first generation Japanese in America far outweighs whatever short-comings may exist."

[3] "*Issei* have carousing fun. Deny *nisei* dancing," in the special column of *New World Sun*, February 14, 1936; "*Issei* are Lousy Lovers," *Rafu Shimpo*, September 19, 1937, this coming from a waitress. Also, *New World Sun*, "*Nisei* Melodrama," dealing with the living habits of the *issei* which seem vulgar to the *nisei*, July 13, 1936.

[4] *The New Canadian*, March 7, 1941, a weekly published in Kaslo, B.C., makes the following statement in an editorial captioned "The Housing Problem": "Whether a cooperative scheme such as has been suggested by our reader is a practical solution is a very moot point. But one thing is certain. If all the funds, which in the past have flown unnecessarily to Japan in the form of immigrant remittances, had been spent upon better housing facilities, conditions now would not be nearly so deplorable."

Perhaps because of this misdirection of funds, if it may be called that, the *nisei* hold that not enough money was put into building community houses and other facilities which were needed. Although the two groups indulge in charges and counter-charges, the *nisei* do attempt to see what they called "the good side" and talk about the generosity, perseverance, and pioneering of the *issei*. Naturally one hears most about things that aroused resentment.

The *issei* are parents, and yet their generalized attitude toward the *nisei* as described by the latter appears to be actually vicious. The *nisei*, according to the *issei*, are "ambitionless," "lazy," "indolent," "taking things too easy," "too Americanized," "not serious-minded," "unpatriotic to Japan," or "unappreciative." And to this list may be added comments by people who pass through from Japan, giving public statements about "*nisei* character."[5] Newspapers also carry items about activities of the *nisei* in Japan. The *nisei* are one focal point toward which the hostility of the *issei* is directed.[6] From the discussions about experiences in Japan, the *nisei* learn that there, too, they have a bad reputation: they are not "good Japanese." In the summer of 1936 Yamashita Sooen of Waseda University, where there is a special department for "foreign-born Japanese," travelled along the Pacific Coast. While here he published a series of articles

[5]As a letter of protest to such comments see "Letter to the Editor," *New World Sun*, September 6, 1937, written by "one average *nisei*."

[6]For example, one evening a banquet was held to honour a *nisei* who had received civic honour by appointment to the Seattle Library Board. It was an unusual recognition, another "first." Various speeches were made, one by the Japanese Consul. The gist of his talk was that he simply saw no reason for all this banquet and honour since his people should have had positions of this kind long ago, and they were now gaining only the recognition which they deserved. Furthermore, this appointment was not much after all. Such an attitude infuriated the *nisei*, and the speaker who followed the Consul very gently but firmly took him to task.

called, "Although they have returned to the mother country, pitiful is the plight of the second generation."[7]

The fundamental conflict between the *issei* and *nisei* came to the fore at the outbreak of the undeclared Sino-Japanese War in July 1937. The loyalty of Japanese in America was put to the test. The *issei* measured loyalty to Japan in terms of donations, propagandizing for Japan's cause, and unquestioned belief that her continental militaristic policy, which started with the Manchurian campaign in September 1931, was both right and necessary.

The donations were made in cash and in "comfort bags." There is no way in which to determine to what extent the *nisei* contributed to the various funds sent to Japan for assisting in the war; casual conversation disclosed that some of them did contribute, although, from the *issei* point of view, not at all liberally. In several instances *nisei* refused to discuss the question and would not commit themselves. The amount of some of these donations was reported in the papers of Japan, as is customary with such gifts.[8] The gifts themselves did not disturb the *nisei* but they

[7]Professor Henry S. Tatsumi, Oriental Studies Department, University of Washington, graciously provided ten of these articles with the translations made by his students. The publication of such uncomplimentary articles and their discussion brings out the various problems which the *nisei* face in Japan.

The importance of Japanese language studies was woefully neglected, and it is interesting to note what one writer has to say about the work of a *nisei*. "Already the Japanese language bottleneck has proved to be a cause of serious difficulty to our armed forces and some steps are being taken to increase the supply of military students of the language. Fortunately, Professor Henry S. Tatsumi of the University of Washington, an American citizen who was in our country's Army in the first World War, has for several years been developing singularly effective methods of expediting the study of Japanese, with results already helpful to winning of victory. A veritable ace in the language campaign, he is now one of those engaged in an important program with the Navy. His ideas are being extended to the study of Chinese, partial ignorance of which is said to have caused damage to the success of some war efforts" (Griffin, *Clinching the Victory*, p. 263).

[8]For example, the "Club *Nisei*" column of the *Osaka Mainichi* for September 12, 1937, read: "Some time ago the sum of 2,150 yen was donated by the Japanese residents in Vancouver, B.C., through the *Osaka Mainichi* branch office there, for Japanese soldiers now on the China front." These donations collected by the *Osaka Mainichi* and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* were called a "Cheer Fund." The Sunday English edition of the *Osaka Mainichi* reported that 1,333,062.67 yen had been contributed at the close of September 4. The next day it was reported that 80,000 yen had been remitted to the War Office via the Japanese Consulate from the Japanese residents in Hawaii. The same paper reported $70,000 from the Japanese in Southern California, through the Japanese Residents' Association.

feared the possibility of serious criticism by the other Americans. As far as can be determined, *nisei* organizations refrained from making actual commitments, leaving it to individual decision.[9] Any conflict with the *issei* about donations was not given public expression.[10]

The propaganda problem caused considerable difficulty between the *issei* and *nisei*. There was, first of all, a very clear recognition among the *nisei* that Japanese propaganda had been inferior to Chinese. In the second place, the Japanese papers in America had their own short-wave receivers by which Domei dispatches were received. All such dispatches were carefully edited in Japan, as Domei is a government-controlled agency, and transmitted by code in *romaji* (Romanized Japanese). The news was then published in vernacular papers and translated for English sections. Apparently the *nisei* did not pay much attention to the Japanese papers but received most of their news from the American press, which differed radically from the Japanese in content and treatment. Special propaganda work was done by various community agencies to offset the American influence.

It is obvious that the *nisei* are not completely "good" Japanese. At one meeting, a long talk was given in English by the Japanese Consul about the reasons for the China campaign and the special position of Japan in the Far East. The speaker emphasized that Japan was fighting communism, which threatened her national existence. When the time for questions came, a young *nisei* woman asked, "If Japan is fighting communism, why does she not fight Russia, the home of communism?" A second question, from a university student, was, "You have not mentioned the economic aspect of this problem. Is Japan not eager to gain control of natural resources?" From the Japanese point of view, such

[9]An editorial in the *New World Sun*, August 7, 1937, suggested that this was more appropriate and recognized that it was not possible to control individual behaviour. On September 8, 1937, the *Rafu Shimpo* carried an article "Charge *Nisei* Contribute to War Fund," published by a tabloid journal in Hollywood. The article claimed that the first generation were coercing "American citizens of Japanese ancestry" to make contributions.

[10]It should be remembered that these statements were made in connection with events before the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and the United States.

questions were impertinent. What speakers said, or what the government broadcast was to be believed without criticism. The scepticism of the *nisei* was attributed by the first generation to Americanization and to the fact that they read only the American papers and consequently did not get the "true news" which was published only in the vernacular press. The *issei* felt compelled to offset the *nisei's* critical tendency. Thus the *nisei* were much criticized and came to realize that they were not as attached to Japan as they could have been.[11]

A war between Japan and the United States has been talked about since 1906, and was apparently a frequent topic of conversation among the *nisei*. "What would I do?" "What will we do?" A novelist in Japan depicted the behaviour of a *nisei* in such a predicament. The hero joined the American army and went to the front immediately as he wished to be killed by the first bullet. The possibility of America eventually becoming involved in the Far Eastern crisis has made the *nisei* take a keen interest in Japan's activities on the Asiatic continent. The propaganda problem might have been largely ignored, but when action was called for — for example, accepting or rejecting the American attempt to boycott Japanese goods — the *nisei* found themselves in a very embarrassing position.

In the past the American-born Chinese and Japanese have been on very good terms.[12] But relations became strained when the foreign-born Chinese and Japanese both tried to enlist the support of the American-born Japanese on the boycott question. Part of the income of the *nisei* was derived from trade with Japan, and to cut it off meant undermining the living of some American

[11]In the spring of 1940, the writer was speaking with several *nisei* about the conflict between the two generation. One informant said, "It is not so bad now. Both sides have talked themselves out." The importance of this problem was not its immediate significance but rather the fundamental conflict of attitudes and sentiments which come to the surface in crises of this character.

[12]The Far Eastern crisis has caused considerable tension between the Chinese and Japanese in America, even the youths. There have been several outbursts. On October 1, 1937, there was a riot between school youths — Chinese and Japanese — in the "shadow of the city hall" in Los Angeles. Three Japanese and two Chinese were hurt (*Rafu Shimpo*, October, 1937, and Associated Press dispatch).

citizens. Americans generally do not distinguish between *nisei* and *issei*, and the boycott limits were not clearly defined even with respect to trade carried on by grocery and other non-import merchandising stores. Hence, some of the *nisei* leaders appealed for "fair play" and felt that such organizations as the Japanese American Citizens' League should have taken a firmer hand in attempting to defeat the boycott.[13]

Since the *nisei* had been unable either to curb the patriotism of their parents at home or to foresee just where trouble might develop for them within the American community, they tried to keep themselves out of the controversy by assuming an attitude of indifference.[14] They were not prone to discuss it outside of their own immediate circle of friends. Many of the *nisei* felt that Japan was too militaristic, and since they had not been inculcated completely with the Japanese way of thinking, they found themselves unable to regard Japanese propaganda uncritically. In public meetings and forums with mixed groups, such as those at universities, their chief line of defence was that to boycott Japan was to throw their own economic system somewhat out of gear. The *nisei* were found wanting in loyalty to Japan, according to *issei* standards, and the actions of certain individuals gave further cause for questioning their loyalty. Here is an Associated Press dispatch, dated August 14, 1937.

> Los Angeles: A squad of Japanese pickets, announcing they were members of the Communist Party, picketed the Japanese consulate in downtown Los Angeles today. Harold Ashe, who described himself as "picket captain," said the demonstration was in protest against "Japanese invasion of North China and Japan's violation of the Kellogg-Briand peace treaty."

In Honolulu a *nisei* proposed that Japan's goods be boycotted there, but the proposal was turned down by the civic organizations

[13]See, for example, "Don't Penalize the Japanese Here," *New World Sun*, October 16, 1937; "Chinese Use of Small Children and the American Attitude," *ibid.*, October 23, 1937; column article in *Rafu Shimpo*, November 4, 1937, that the J. A. C. L. could have helped the *nisei* more. For a more pointed criticism of that organization, see *ibid.*, August 20, 1937, p. 4.

[14]This observation was derived from personal contact with a large number of *nisei*. An article stating the same judgment was found in the *New World Sun* for January 1, 1938.

of that city.[15] A report also appeared that a Japanese in Kent, Washington, had started to boycott Nipponese goods.[16] And finally, a former Seattle *nisei* was "openly aiding China's cause." He was asked to report his activities to the Japanese Consulate and in doing so stated that he would follow the dictates of conscience.[17] An informant indicated that this individual had lived in the home of an American high-school teacher known for his radical leanings, and had at other times rejected the Japanese traditional way of doing things.

There were relatively few reports of *nisei* openly refusing to give monetary support to the Japanese military campaigns. This is one more indication that, although there may have been fundamental conflicts between the *nisei* and the *issei*, resentment was held in leash. Even if their own vital needs appeared to be attacked, as in the case of the boycott, the *nisei* showed little overt defensive reaction.

By the summer of 1940 the "China Incident" had been so long drawn out that the conflict between the two generations had lost much of its zest and intensity. Other world events had become more important and, for the *nisei*, undoubtedly more critical. The threat to trade between Japan and America was a direct blow at the livelihood of many *nisei* and *issei*. And the Selective Service Act created new problems for the second-generation.

The prospect of serving in the American Army was looked upon favourably. It was openly welcomed by the *nisei* as the best opportunity ever presented for settling the questions of dual citizenship and ambiguous loyalties. By mid-March 1941 it was estimated by Japanese papers that some 350 *nisei* had been drafted, and by the spring of 1942 this number had increased tenfold. There were many parties and farewell dinners for the selectees before the opening of hostilities with Japan and the resulting evacuation. The parents supported the entrance of their sons

[15] *North American Times*, January 18, 1938.
[16] *Ibid.*, January 22, 1938.
[17] *Ibid.*, February 17, 1938.

into the army and one *issei* organization pledged publicly to support them in every way possible in their effort to be good Americans. When drafting stopped in the late spring of 1942, it was a great shock to all Japanese in America.[18] When in February 1943, the announcement came that volunteer combat units would be organized, there was no difficulty in securing the required number of *nisei* men for service in the European theatre of operations. Stories kept filtering back about *nisei* in air raids over Germany, of their activities in North Africa and Sicily, and some of their experiences in the South Pacific area. And so for the moment participation in World War II appears to be obscuring partially the fundamental conflict between the two generations because of redirection of energies and external pressure.

Political Behaviour

It is undoubtedly true that the *nisei* have not participated in elections to the fullest extent. During the past decade they have reached voting age in increasing numbers. According to the *Japanese-American Courier* the number eligible to vote in Seattle increased from 104 in 1928 to about 1,000 in 1937.[19] The *New World Sun* in 1938 stated that there were 9,000 *nisei* eligible to vote in the 44th, 52nd, and 63rd State Assembly Districts of California, and estimated that the number was increasing at the rate of about 2,000 a year.[20] This was believed to give a balance of power in those districts, but no figures were given on the number who actually registered and voted.

In general, accurate figures on the registration of *nisei* are lacking, but there are various estimates of the numbers who have

[18]For some unknown reason army officials decided to reclassify the *nisei*. Hence their draft cards were changed from 1-A to 4-C, "enemy alien ineligible for service."

An excellent statement of the confusion is made by Redfield, "The Japanese-Americans," in Ogburn, ed., *American Society in Wartime*, pp. 143-6.

Materials dealing with the confusion after December 7, 1941, and prior to evacuation will be found in DeWitt, *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942*.

[19]March 6, 1937.

[20]August 25, 1938.

registered and voted in different elections. One paper stated that in 1936 about one-half of the American-born Japanese were registered, and that the *kibei* were less interested than the *nisei*.[21] Another reported in the same year that out of 800 eligible to vote in San Francisco, only 244, or 30.5 per cent. had registered.[22] Rough estimates made by the author indicated that, in 1938, 34 out of 112, or 30.4 per cent., had registered in Portland, and 8 out of 29, or 27.7 per cent., in Hood River County, Oregon. A more careful check was made in Seattle, involving an actual registration count of the *nisei* and examination of over 200,000 voting records in the period from 1934 through 1938. This investigation also indicated that the actual registration was not more than a third of the potential registration.

The cause for this political indifference can no doubt be attributed primarily to the lack of political consciousness in the Japanese family and community environment. In their study of non-voting, Merriam and Gosnell found that "general indifference was slightly more prevalent among the non-voters of foreign parentage than it was among the non-voters of native parentage.[23] In the case of the Japanese, the parents were barred from becoming American citizens, and most of them read only the vernacular newspapers and literature from Japan (which one Japanese newspaper said was "imported by the tons"). Therefore American political issues were little discussed by members of the immigrant generation. It is true that within some of the homes the parents urged their children to vote, but such parental concern was confined to a few of the more aggressive *issei* who saw the votes of the second generation as a means of helping them to hold on to the gains the first generation had made.

The segregated social life of the Japanese has also meant that time and interest have been centred on their own affairs rather than on those of the larger community. In addition, the conservative character of Japanese tradition has also undoubtedly

[21] *Rafu Shimpo*, November 1, 1936.

[22] *New World Sun*, July 19, 1936.

[23] Merriam and Gosnell, *Non-Voting*, p. 161 (quoted by permission of University of Chicago Press).

been an important factor in the lack of interest shown by the *nisei* in American politics. Japanese tradition has no long history of participating in government through voting. As this tradition is changed through residence in America and the *nisei* develop more leadership and political consciousness, we may expect an increase in their political participation.

The *nisei* leaders have been concerned about the political indifference, and are aware that the fundamental difference between themselves and the first generation is in constitutional guarantees that can be upheld only through political activity. Political consciousness has been developing gradually within Japanese-American communities, stimulated in part by white politicians seeking votes and more recently by efforts to deny *nisei* the franchise. Two *nisei*, one in California and one in Washington, have been candidates for public office. The Japanese papers have carried stories dealing with politics and elections, but it is not known to what extent they interested the voting group. The *New World Sun* had a straw vote in the 1936 presidential campaign to estimate the Japanese support for the two major candidates. The results showed that 118 ballots had been cast, giving Roosevelt a two-to-one margin over Landon. In the same election another paper reported that " 'Lil Tokyo was evenly divided — physicians for Landon, lawyers for Roosevelt."[24]

In their political alignments the *nisei* generally tend to be conservative; in fact Larry Tajiri wrote in *Rafu Shimpo* that they have a "reactionary tendency." Some of them, however, have inclined toward socialism or communism, but apparently the radical movement among the *nisei* is not very strong. What communistic activity could be traced was directed toward aiding party members in Japan rather than toward improvement of their own status in America.

It is interesting to speculate on whether development of *nisei* political consciousness will be accompanied by the development of a *nisei* political bloc. In a study of voting in Hawaii, Lind came

[24]*Rafu Shimpo*, November 2, 1936. This paper claims to reach about 10,000 families.

to the conclusion that no fear need be felt there of racial voting blocs, as "the most active opposition to Chinese and Japanese candidates in recent elections has come from organizations within the same ethnic groups.[25] The same situation would probably prevail in the continental United States: in Los Angeles, for example, when a Republican Club was formed by some *nisei*, others immediately founded a Democratic Club. Political activity in general provides opportunities for opposition and open struggle.

The Citizens' League Movement

The *nisei*, like the first generation, have been confronted with certain well-defined problems which cannot be solved through individual efforts. The most important of these have resulted from the long and bitter conflict between their parents and the Americans over immigration, landownership, and citizenship. Although the rights of citizenship, as stated in the Fourteenth Amendment, are guaranteed to the American-born Japanese by the Constitution, they cannot be certain that even these rights are secure as in the recent case of the Native Sons of the Golden West, demanding that names of Americans of Japanese ancestry be stricken from the registration rolls.[26] How can they defend against occasional attacks from pressure groups; how can they overcome some of the handicaps resulting from the wide differences between the social heritage of their parents and that of America; how can they reconcile the feelings of superiority derived from their home training with the conceptions of inferiority derived

[25]Lind, "Hawaii at the Polls," *Asia*, October, 1936, pp. 642-5. Results also published in "Voting in Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii*, June, 1936, pp. 2-5.

[26]*The New Canadian*, March 13, 1943, reported that the seven judges of the Federal District Court ruled that the names could not be stricken off the rolls.

Section one of the Fourteenth Amendment reads: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

Section one of the Fifteenth Amendment reads: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

from experiences with Americans of European ancestry? During the long period of agitation against them, the Japanese could not understand the whites, for no matter how they tried to relieve the pressure, nothing they did was of any avail, even with the help of some fair-minded American organizations, in stemming the increasing storms of protest, agitation, and discrimination. And this is, in part, the heritage of the *nisei*.

In 1920 the United States Committee on Immigration and Naturalization held hearings on the Pacific Coast at which both whites and Japanese testified.[27] These government hearings were held in the cities where the main concentrations of Japanese were living. Even then it was quite evident to the Japanese that various modes of discrimination would probably extend over to the second generation. In 1922 the United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Takao Ozawa vs. The United States*, handed down its decision that Japanese were not eligible for naturalization. One of the questions which the Court had to decide was whether or not the Naturalization Act of June 29, 1906, was limited by Revised Statutes, section 2169 which reads, "The provisions of this title shall apply to aliens being free white persons; and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." A second question which the Court had to decide was whether or not the Japanese were "free white persons." In its decision, the Court decided that the Japanese were Mongolians and that the Act of 1906 was limited by section 2169 of the Revised Statutes. Hence, on a basis of race, the Japanese were not eligible for citizenship.[28] The disappointment and frustration which that decision entailed are well expressed in the following statement by a first-generation Japanese:

> The Japanese tried to gain the right to vote in the United States, but they failed. They even carried the case to the Supreme Court at Washington, and they fought the case bitterly. It makes a great deal of difference to the Japanese not to have the right to vote. Life isn't half as much fun as if you know that you have the right to be on equal terms with everybody else

[27] U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Japanese Immigration: Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.*

[28] *Law Cases affecting Japanese in the United States, 1916-1924*, vol. I, pp. 101-20; 374.

in the country, and that you have the power to help manipulate the course of the Nation's government. Of course, it's true that even if the Japanese had the right to vote, not all of them would vote, and it's true that the power which one is able to exert in one single vote is not very great; but that doesn't matter. What does matter is the consciousness that one is on a par with everybody else, and that one has a right to take part in the operations of the government. I suppose it's part of human nature.

It's for that reason that after all the years which I've spent in this country, I still feel a longing to go back to Japan. Here in this country I am an alien because I have no citizenship and my world feels small because it is restricted at certain points. When I walk around among Americans, I have a feeling that I don't belong here. But back in Japan I would be in a position to do things as I wanted to, to help in the operation of the government. The second generation here in America are in a position to wield this power of franchise, and that is the reason that I helped establish the Japanese-American Citizens' League. They must use this right, for with it they will have a powerful weapon with which to gain the ends which the first generation were not allowed to get.

Discrimination spread as the enterprising Americans found new and more subtle ways of limiting the Japanese in their economic pursuits, and applied discriminatory methods against the second as well as the first generation. The following account is illustrative.

I was among the first generation who first advocated the beginning of the Japanese-American Citizens' League. About 1921 when the land problem was coming to the fore, and others were beginning to have some difficulties as a result of discrimination, we felt the need of organizing the second generation who were able to vote in order to have some organized group with a power of franchise. Thirteen of such *nisei* were found, and they were enlisted toward lending their names for ownership of lands which the alien Japanese could not have.

There was a case such as this also. At the time when some of the white poolroom operators pushed through some kind of a regulation requiring that licences to poolroom operators be given only to those Japanese having a right to vote, many of the Japanese operators were in danger of losing their business. They therefore got N. I. to buy the licence for them in his name, since he was one of the few second generation over twenty-one at that time. When N. I. went down, however, and told them that he had the right to purchase such a licence since he had been born in America, and was a citizen of the United States, they asked him if he had ever voted in any general election. He had to admit that he had not, and on those grounds the city administrators declined his claim to such a licence. It was as a result of such an incident as this that the first generation began to feel that there was a need for an organization of the second generation which would see that they voted at the general

elections, and conducted themselves satisfactorily as American citizens. Later we were able to get the licence, but in the meantime we did not press the matter greatly because we felt that after all the poolrooms were not the most constructive things to have in the community, and only tended to demoralize the younger of the population in the community.

It might be asked why the "N. I." in this case had not concerned himself with voting. The lack of political assimilation was discussed in the preceding section. The Japanese had no heritage of political democracy when they came here: to be a good citizen in Japan, one merely conformed to the principles of filial piety and loyalty. Where do citizens get their enthusiasm for taking part in government, especially in a democracy? If the home life of a child is devoid of any political concern or discussion, how much can the public school make up for the deficiency?

Out of the concern on the part of many of the first generation and a gradual realization by the older *nisei* that they too were none too secure, emerged what is commonly referred to among the Japanese as the citizens' league movement. The early organizations did not appear to thrive very well, and all but two failed to maintain themselves.

The citizens' league movement itself dates back to 1922 when the American Loyalty League was launched in San Francisco and the Seattle Progressive Citizens' League was organized in Seattle, Washington. Though the chapters of the American Loyalty League were established throughout the State of California, since the members were still young in age, only the Fresno chapter remained after a few years. But the necessity of a unified body was being realized by all the young leaders as the years went by.

The impetus to rehabilitate [*sic*] the citizens' league movement was given in 1928, when Mr. Clarence T. Arai from Seattle arrived in California and began his missionary work. In San Francisco, Mr. Tamezo Takimoto, the general secretary of the Japanese Association of America, gathered together a few of the young leaders and gave them the opportunity to meet Mr. Arai.[29]

Another meeting was called in the spring of 1929, and in 1930 the first biennial convention was held in Seattle. All the various citizens' leagues were brought under one national organization known as the Japanese-American Citizens' League, usually called the J.A.C.L. It is a federation of local chapters. Not

[29]*Third Biennial General Program*, San Francisco, Japanese-American Citizens' League (1934), p. 16.

all *nisei* belong to the organization nor are all members active in the sense that they pay dues or participate directly in the work of the association. Nevertheless, the J.A.C.L. has come to be looked upon as the "official" second-generation organization, at least on the Pacific Coast, where the main growth of the organization took place. The *nisei* who prior to evacuation lived around Denver had been reluctant to join, for they felt that their problems were different and that the Japanese on the Coast were too clannish. The Denver group did, nevertheless, have an organization which was qualified to affiliate with the Coast body. By 1938 there were about thirty-five chapters affiliated with the national organization, and at the outbreak of war with Japan there were some fifty chapters.

As a result of the process of acculturation and of American discrimination, the first generation and the more experienced and articulate of the second generation have defined certain problems which they feel are unique. "Being one of the newest racial groups to become a component part of the American nation, the citizens of Japanese ancestry have their own special problems and missions to carry out. And to facilitate these matters this organization has been brought into existence.[30]

Since the J.A.C.L. came into existence as a result of a threat which the Japanese sensed in the immigration *Hearings* of 1920 and which they experienced in the growing discrimination, it naturally is a counter-pressure group as well as a pressure group. The counter-pressure activities are well exemplified in the part played in the trouble between white and Japanese farmers in the Salt River Valley of Arizona in 1934.[31] The League dispatched two attorneys to see if they could assist in adjusting the problem. Although the American press was taking notice of such outbreaks and agitation, the trouble did not spread to other localities. Exactly how instrumental the J.A.C.L. was in stopping agitation before it got beyond control cannot be said. A second case

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] A summary of this and other recent cases is found in Tolan (chairman), *Findings and Recommendations on Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones*, p. 89.

in which the J.A.C.L. functioned in a similar manner was the flare-up in Tulare, California, some time after the Salt River case. Both these conflicts were settled amicably, but adjustment between the whites and Japanese had not gone far enough in all areas to justify the assumption that no "watch dog" was needed.[32]

The J.A.C.L. did not concern itself at first too openly with such activities and the officers handled them without instructions from the members. It was felt to be better strategy to keep these problems under control without arousing the feelings of the second generation. This policy seems to have changed and it was later believed that "facts" should be known. Some *nisei* feel that these occasional outbreaks have been due to the presence of the *issei* and that they will disappear when the *issei* are no longer a part of the population.

In some relationships the *nisei's* race imposes certain legal disabilities. For example, the Cable Act of 1922, enacted by Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Congress, provided that any woman marrying an alien ineligible to citizenship would lose her American citizenship even though she continued to live in America.[33] To the *nisei* this was a limitation upon their citizenship rights, and one of the first activities of the J.A.C.L. was a campaign for an amendment to the Cable Act. This was achieved in 1931, but how influential the J.A.C.L. was in securing the passage of the amendment cannot be determined. In any event, this change in the Cable Act showed the *nisei* that organized methods are effective in adjusting some problems.

A legislative act for which the J.A.C.L. can probably take exclusive credit was that providing citizenship for Oriental veterans of World War I. A special delegate was sent to the conventions of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The co-operation of these two groups was secured and an act was passed which made possible the naturalization of Oriental war veterans who had served in the United States military forces.

[32]McWilliams, "Once Again the Yellow Peril," *Nation*, June 26, 1935, pp. 735-6.

[33]Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, p. 325.

Local chapters participate in activities for removing any civil disabilities that are based upon discrimination, such as restricted use of playgrounds, vocational schools, and so on. The following excerpt from a daily newspaper indicates how such items are reported.[34]

Salt Lake City, Utah: The Salt Lake Japanese-American Citizens' League today stood out as the outstanding example of a *nisei* citizen body that can boast of constructive effort in successfully reducing anti-alien legislation.

In the first public disclosure of complete details of the bill now before the Utah legislature which was sponsored by the Citizens' League, officials of the J. A. C. L. declared that the importance of the bill itself was not as great as the significance of the fact that it was sponsored and carried through by a second-generation Japanese organization . . .

"To introduce and have legislation passed is no easy task, especially for Japanese people in these United States and particularly on the west coast," Kasai said. "However we are making remarkably promising progress as we have the backing of four major Fish and Game Protective Associations endorsing the proposed amendment . . ."

These examples indicate that the activities of the J.A.C.L. are very definitely aimed at gaining a firmer foothold for the *nisei* in the American community.[35] But in doing this, the organization has also necessarily been critical of the activities of Japan. Japan's international policy has long been of concern to the American press, and white Americans have too often thought of all Japanese

[34]*Rafu Shimpo,* February 28, 1937. The *Japanese-American Courier,* March 20, 1937, reported that "J.A.C.L. wins in Utah." The same issue of the *Courier* reported that the district board members of the J.A.C.L. decided "to raise $2,000 war chest and move on Sacramento." There were four bills pending in the State Legislature which were inimical to Japanese welfare: an anti-alien land bill; an anti-alien corporation bill; an anti-alien fishing bill; and an anti-alien language school bill. The third bill was defined as the "most discriminating against the Japanese." All four of these measures were finally tabled.

[35]Some of the earlier agitators against the Japanese have seen the League as a tool of the *issei.* See, for example, Sakamoto's article "Is Anti-Alienism Americanism?" *Rafu Shimpo,* April 25, 1937. "Mr. McClatchy sees fit to misunderstand the J. A. C. L. position on second-generation welfare and its relation to anti-alienism. The League believes that with the average age of the second generation turning on the fifteenth year mark, the welfare of a great number must depend for some time on the parents. The McClatchy group sees in this point an argument that the League must also depend on the parents, and hence, it is a tool of the alien generation. Mr. McClatchy's argument would be nullified if the elder members of the second generation who are in business for themselves, are at present the leaders of the J. A. C. L. This happens to be true."

in America as taking part in Japan's activities. The J.A.C.L. tried so far as possible to prevent American interpretations of Japan's activities from impinging directly upon the welfare of Japanese here, and to meet such charges as "disloyalty" or "taking too much of a hand" in Japan's affairs.[36]

After the opening of the Sino-Japanese War the Japanese here were looked upon with suspicion by the Americans. Some of the difficulty was caused by statements published in Japan and appearing in the American press. For example, on March 7, 1938, an Associated Press dispatch, appearing in such papers as the Seattle *Times* and the Los Angeles *Times*, stated that Foreign Minister Hirota had made a speech in Japan in which he claimed that "Tokyo would keep hold on U.S. Japanese." The Los Angeles *Times* headed this dispatch with the caption that "Japan Trains Citizens Here." Immediately upon the appearance of this news item the *Rafu Shimpo*, the largest of Japanese dailies in the United States, appeared with a claim of "twisted news," heading the explanation with "*Nisei* resentment aroused by erroneous interpretation given foreign minister's statements."

At once the Los Angeles chapter of the J.A.C.L. sent a day letter to James Y. Sakamoto, then national president of the League, asking for action on the part of the national body.[37] It was requested that explanatory statements be issued to the Associated Press and the vernacular press to clarify the foreign minister's remarks regarding *nisei* education in Japan. The local chapter also asked that the Foreign Office be notified through Ambassador Saito that such statements have embarrassing consequences. On March 11, both vernacular and American papers carried statements made by the national president. Meanwhile there was considerable discussion and marked excitement among the *nisei*. Articles appeared in the *Japan Times* and *Japan Advertiser*, both published in Japan, and in a Tientsin paper. This was regarded

[36]The J.A.C.L. got along well with the D.A.R. and the American Legion. Its activities were approved and supported enthusiastically. American Legion speakers frequently appeared at *nisei* affairs.

[37]The writer is indebted to Mr. Sakamoto for providing his file of material from the official portfolio of the J.A.C.L.

by the Japanese in Japan as "airing a family feud," and to some Americans the entire matter was a tempest in a teapot. To the *nisei* and the J.A.C.L., however, it appeared to be grave, for it cast doubt upon their loyalty and, if such incidents were permitted to develop unchecked, they could jeopardize their position in American society.

The American-Japanese were not content merely with relieving incipient pressures or working within state legislatures to promote measures removing disabilities. The J.A.C.L. also concerned itself, as far as discussion was helpful, with community improvement, with the promotion of character-building programmes and with developing a political consciousness. In addition the social activity, which was an important aspect of J.A.C.L., should not be overlooked. The conventions in cities away from home gave many of the younger *nisei* their first opportunity to appear in public without immediate supervision from the family.

It was not easy for an organization like the League to gain complete acceptance. The Buddhists, for example, did not want to co-operate for they were developing "their own show." There was also competition among individuals in trying to secure office and power within the organization. The J.A.C.L. was not always representative of the interests of all groups within the community. For instance, although the *kibei* in some places joined or were affiliated as separate groups, they usually had their own citizens' league, the *Kibei Shimin Kyokai*. Then too, the growing group of the younger business men were more interested in a Chamber of Commerce development.[38] But as international crises increased the tensions and problems within the United States, the role of the J.A.C.L. was apparently no more clearly understood or appreciated than in 1937. Many problems, such as citizenship status, have increased in significance. In the late summer of 1941 the national organization engaged a salaried

[38]All these people had come to recognize the good work which had been done by the J.A.C.L., but all did not actively support it. There was much criticism and counter-criticism. To some it was a lot of social festivities and talk — with no concrete action: to others it appeared as a necessary group, functioning mainly in the field of protection from both American and Japanese-in-Japan pressures.

executive secretary to deal more effectively with educational work, to gain wider support among the Japanese, and to secure wider recognition from other Americans.

No detailed study of the work of the J.A.C.L. since Pearl Harbour has been made. In some cities it took over the leadership of the whole community when evacuation became imminent. In Seattle, for instance, the chapter there organized an Emergency Defence Council and among other things it did was to prepare a "Report Submitted to Tolan Congressional Committee on National Defence Migration.[39] In the actual process of evacuation the local chapter in Seattle assumed responsibility for assisting the evacuees. Later the Army officials asked the organization to take over the Japanese administration of the Camp Harmony Assembly Centre, known to evacuees as "Camp Disharmony," at Puyallup, Washington. The League came to be looked upon as an organization for liaison work.

However, it is reported that the J.A.C.L. has stirred up a great deal of hatred, some of its officers actually having been beaten, but it is nevertheless recognized that no other organization could have provided leaders and workers who could try to cope with such major crises as the war with Japan and the subsequent evacuation.[40] Its chief contributions at the present time appear to be through the publication of the *Pacific Citizen*, now published in Salt Lake City, Utah, and in its interest in legal test cases dealing with civil rights.

American citizens of Japanese ancestry have against their own wishes been caught in the tide of Japan's fortunes in the world community of nations. Even though — for some individuals — assimilation into the American life may have been as complete as possible, no person of Japanese ancestry has been exempt from

[39]This report is republished in full in Tolan (chairman), *Problems of Evacuation of Enemy Aliens and Others from Prohibited Military Zones: Part 30: Portland and Seattle Hearings, February 26 and 28, and March 2, 1942*, pp. 11450-69.

[40]The same problem of community factions and internal strife faced the Canadian-Japanese when they were ordered to evacuate. Historically all Japanese communities have been ridden with factionalism when certain issues were faced.

sharing in the problems created by American attitudes which kept him a "Japanese." The J.A.C.L., organized to face problems inherited from the first generation, has found itself faced with new problems evoked by international events even before the old one had been resolved. The need for, and the work of, this organization is an index of *nisei* trouble; its future cannot now be predicted.

Chapter VIII

DISCRIMINATION AND FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY

Discrimination is a central problem for the *nisei*.[1] It blocks their placement in certain occupational lines, and even if they do get a place with some firm, it blocks all chances of promotion; it also makes selection of community services a problem. In a civilization which places emphasis upon equality and places great prestige upon economic status and "getting ahead," the intensity of frustration is increased for a group which has a cultural heritage which also emphasizes status and prestige. At home individuals with a status similar to that held by their countrymen in America have a consistently organized cultural means of accepting such status without experiencing acute feelings of insecurity, insignificance, and inferiority. The cultural means of the *issei* were inadequate to solve the problems resulting from immigration, such as discrimination and maintaining their own form of family life. The differences between acceptable status and actual status place the problem of discrimination in the foreground of any discussion dealing with the development of self-conception and the future in America.[2]

[1]A bibliography on prejudice and minority groups is given in Brown and Roucek, (eds.), Our *Racial and National Minorities*, pp. 835-6.

For more recent materials related more directly to second-generation peoples, see Krall, "Second Generation Immigrant in America with Special Reference to Problems of Adjustment" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation). This work has an unusually fine bibliography. The writings of Louis Adamic, especially *From Many Lands* and *What's Your Name?*, all published by Harper and Brothers, give excellent material from a great number of second-generation groups. Louis Adamic's *Two Way Passage* shows how the "Old World" is a problem for most American groups, even for those of Anglo-Saxon heritage.

[2]In considering the problems of frustration and adjustment, it is not always possible to secure all the data necessary to make a clear-cut case. For example, how do alcohol, gambling, and religion function as "escapes" from the problems faced? The impression of the writer is that there is less drinking among the *nisei* than the *issei*. The mother, in many instances, has tried to keep alcohol away from the child and has been partially successful because some of the *nisei* are still dependent upon their parents. The community, too, has had influence by frowning upon failures disposed toward drinking and by encouraging the *nisei* for a "cleaner," "better," more sober life in America — in contrast to the *issei* attitude. The Christian influence has undoubtedly contributed greatly too.

Practically all Japanese have personally and directly experienced acts of social discrimination; those who have not — usually persons with a limited range of experience or little understanding of what discrimination involves — are acquainted with places of business or individuals with a reputation for discriminating against them. Thus discrimination is a basic factor in Japanese group life, and it is a normal expectation which is incorporated into *nisei* expectations.

Experiences with discrimination are not, of course, uniform in character. For purposes of discussion, they may be classed into those dealing with employment and economic problems; those associated with various personal and community services, such as barber shops or recreation; and those concerned with membership in clubs, organizations, and other social groups. The most frequent experiences are in the first and second groups. As discrimination in employment has already been discussed in detail,[3] the second group will be considered here.

Experiences of discrimination in the American communities are so widespread that each individual has in some manner adjusted himself to them, degrading as they are to his self-esteem. They mean to him "I am an unwanted person," and result in many frustrations and anxieties. In analyzing the statements of various informants who discussed their experiences rather freely, it was found that thirteen of thirty-six informants interpreted discrimination in terms of "ignorance," "narrow-mindedness," "lack of intelligence," or "insufficient acquaintance with Japanese". All these informants indicated that they resented experiences of discrimination: they "got mad", but they also "cooled off". The fault, however, is placed upon the shoulders of the discriminating Americans. It is significant that the terms and phrases used are those which degrade the discriminators. One informant said, "I used to get burned up about it but now I say, 'It's their own funeral'." Another said "That makes me mad. Why should they show such discourtesy? It is due to ignorance." Quite clearly these are defences and interpretations. Such attitudes imply that

[3]See Chapter V.

if the white Americans did "understand," then they would change; if they were not "ignorant and foolish," then they would not discriminate; if they were broad-minded rather than "narrow-minded," they would not be so discourteous or "disgusting" in their behaviour. Such interpretations serve to place people who discriminate into well-defined categories which lean rather heavily upon the notion of "lack of understanding" for definition.

The idea of "lack of understanding" is used extensively by the Japanese in explaining their problems. This is a clue to a basic fact, namely, that the Japanese actually do feel that they are "different"; and this in turn is due to basic differences in the cultural traditions of Japan and America. The feeling of being "different" indicates that the *nisei* consider themselves to be partly Japanized. One *nisei* employer told the writer about friction he was having with a white man employed by him who had considerable difficulty at first working in a Japanese business "because he did not understand our background."

There are other interpretations to experiences of discrimination: ten of the thirty-six informants tended to condone such behaviour or make excuses for individuals who had discriminated against them. A few quotations will explain this point of view.

I heard of a barber shop which would not serve Japanese. All of this irritates me but I realize that it is their right to do that if they wish.

I was ready for both of these discriminations before I entered. As a matter of fact I did not want to enter a place where I felt that I might be discriminated against. I felt that it was the lower elements in the American population which did this. The higher class of Americans are all right.

I feel resentment but feel that maybe the manager isn't prejudiced but that perhaps his patrons are, so I am not so disgusted with the manager.

The barbers really have no prejudice. It is the white patrons who go to the shops and object to having their hair cut in the same place.

These individuals have transferred any resentment they might have felt toward the person enforcing discriminatory practices, such as a theatre manager or barber, to his clientele. Thus the individual who actually commits an act of discrimination may not himself be prejudiced but be forced to discriminate because of the group which he serves. This places interpretation of the

experience in business terms rather than on a personal basis and makes it less damaging to self-esteem. One other point might be made about the attitude of this group. We have already referred to the fact that experience with discrimination is not uniform. The Japanese have found that not all Americans discriminate against them: there are many community services which welcome their patronage; there are Americans of other ancestry with whom they associate on a basis of close friendship; and a number of the *nisei* have grown up with Caucasian playmates. All these factors make the experience of discrimination, when it is encountered, not so hard to bear but very hard to comprehend.

Of the thirty-six informants, six were found to be persons who accept discrimination passively and express a fatalistic attitude toward it. As one informant stated, "There is nothing I can do about it." Not only do such individuals accept discrimination as a normal part of *nisei* life but they see no way of changing the situation. Several within this group also felt that it was not so intense as formerly.

A somewhat similar attitude was expressed by four other informants, who felt that discrimination is found in all societies and is a part of any minority group life. They were aware of the fact that *nisei* are discriminated against in Japan. For these individuals, discrimination is a part of social reality which must be accepted; it is merely unfortunate that they, instead of some other group, must suffer.

There were three of the thirty-six cases which could not be included in any of the foregoing groups. Two of these had experienced discrimination and both stated that they could offer no reasons or causes for it. The impression was gained that these two wished to avoid not only discrimination but even any discussion of it: they simply did not wish to face this part of reality.

The last case was one in which the informant indicated that he had not experienced discrimination because "I have never put my nose on the other side of the fence." He said, "This business of discrimination has been drilled into us by our parents." As

far as intensive questioning could indicate, he has never attempted to explain race prejudice. Further investigation of him through other informants indicated that he is "very Japanesey" and that he has done quite well in business. Such information is important: it indicates that some of the Japanese have found a place in the economic system and that, by accepting the role laid out for them, they experience little if any difficulty in normal times.

The interpretations of racial discrimination serve in making adjustments to acts of discrimination. One informant, much more articulate than others, explained that he always approaches strange people and strange places with an "experimental attitude," with an expectation of a discriminating act until various cues indicate otherwise.

In view of the fact that experiences with discrimination are a normal expectation in the life of the *nisei*, it is assumed that each *nisei* will experience feelings of inferiority as a result of discrimination. The general theory is that inferiority feelings are not usually verbalized but yet are a driving factor in compensatory behaviour, thus giving rise to various "defence dynamisms" such as rationalization or self-justification, phantasy or neurotic compensations.[4] As we know individuals may vary in their adjustments to feelings of inferiority. There may be a tendency to withdraw and be shy and timid, or a deliberate seeking of modes of activity that are compensations commonly known as "acting superior." Such expressions, as in the case of other Americans, are found among the American-born Japanese. Given the bi-cultural and bi-racial milieu with social discrimination as a primary fact of life, the expression of feelings of inferiority will follow. This is not surprising, but the amount of discussion in terms of or about the "inferiority complex" is surprising. This "complex" is a central theme for informal groups and it is often found in newspapers. If the term is used it may pave the way to securing a confidential admission from an

[4]For a summary of the psychological literature dealing with inferiority feelings, compensations, and defences, see Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, pp. 173-81.

informant that "I have an inferiority complex." Two cases taken from field notes are cited as an illustration.

A go-between was attempting to arrange an interview, and the individual concerned said, "I don't believe I can help you. I have an inferiority complex." The go-between attempted to counter this by explaining in even more detail the purpose of the investigation and the kind of information desired, but again the reply, "I am sorry I can't help you." And it has not been possible to secure an interview with this person. Although there are no recorded data about him, an occasion was later presented for stopping by his place of business. It was noticed then that this individual had a rather pronounced facial tic.

* * *

An informant greeted the writer at the door. After the usual salutation, the next statement was, "You ought to talk with this friend of mine here. I have an inferiority complex. He's a college man." The interview went along very nicely and upon probing about the inferiority complex, the informant thought that some time or other he had heard some one call him a "son-of-a-bitching Jap." In athletics he felt that his success was due to the fact that he had to play more intelligently than the other players. Although he had won the highest award possible in his school and area, his coach had told him that he would have been a "great player" if he could have rid himself of his "inferiority complex." His concern with not being a college man was rather pointed, and this informant thought that if he could have gone to college, then this "inferiority complex" would no longer have functioned. What he lacked, according to his statmeent, were the "social graces." He felt that college would have given him poise and confidence to meet people. This particular person is very well adjusted economically and has a perspective on the problems of economic discrimination which excludes him from the usual limitations defined by many *nisei*. In his field of business there are no limitations — just his own ability to make himself an authority in his field of specialization. If it were possible to gather more details about him, it would be significant to determine just how the compensatory adjustments are organized, for an offhand judgment leads an investigator to believe that the voice modulation is not well controlled as he seems to speak loudly. Furthermore an informant indicates that among the *nisei* he had a reputation of being "loud." Thus, although this individual verbalizes ideas about his "inferiority complex," there are also at work certain aspects of it concerning which he appears to know little and remains unverbalized.

The use of the "inferiority-complex" as an explanatory concept is not limited to *nisei*-American experiences. It is used by some of the *nisei* to explain behaviour among themselves in certain situations. Sensitivity to social proprieties is to be found among all peoples, but an over-sensitivity among people of one's own

age or school group is unusual. There is intense struggle among the Japanese in America for the preservation of status, and the possession of certain things is an index of status. One informant described how her chum was over-sensitive about not having a telephone in the house — this was only one of many things about which "we all have to be so careful in what we say or do," and she then referred to her chum's "inferiority complex."

In the newspaper discussions, there is a frank recognition of these inferiority feelings or complexes. One writer goes so far as to caption his article "I am Inferior to Occidentals,"[5] basing his argument essentially on the immigrant conditions of life. In additions to frank recognition of inferiority, moralizing imperatives are common. The following are taken at random from a newspaper column: "Develop initiative," "Obedience should not be based on fear," "Stop imitating race prejudice," "*Nisei* humble themselves unnecessarily," "Deplore defeatism," "*Nisei*, stand up for your convictions," "*Nisei* should seek to develop character," and, finally, "*Nisei* have no right to get hyper-sensitive complex about prejudice."[6]

This frank recognition and discussion of feelings of inferiority is certainly far removed from the traditional Japanese behaviour. The *issei* are aware of their inferior status in American life, but any feelings about it are repressed and come to the surface only in a crisis. The lack of reticence displayed by their children is one more indication of their failure to establish Japanese perspectives in the second generation.

Of all the Oriental groups in America, the Japanese have resisted most intensely efforts to place them in a caste with inferior status. They are well aware of the fact that they are not only one of the more recent groups to come to America but also are distinguished from the others by their racial marks and cultural differences. There are two principal reasons for their great

[5]*Rafu Shimpo*, January 24, 1937, p. 8.

[6]From the column, "I'm Telling You, Deirdre," in the *New World Sun*, June 19 and 20, 1936. Since the Japanese discriminate against the Filipinos, for example, some *nisei* think they have no right to complain about white discrimination against themselves.

concern with the "inferiority complex." One is that the anxiety which developed within the first generation was passed on in some measure to the second generation. The second lies in their awareness of not feeling at ease among Occidentals, in feeling that they do not "belong," and in recognizing that they are not aggressive enough in attempting to bring about certain changes. To explain this behaviour, the concept of "inferiority complex" is used. The discussion emerges as a result of resentments against the situation; it is motivated by the tension from the conflict of not wanting to be what one is. As one Japanese said, "the whites are not interested in the Japanese." It is recognized that the burden of improving their status rests upon them and yet they tend to withdraw from the very experiences and relations which some define as necessary for improvement in their status. The obstacle between wish and achievement is the "inferiority complex."

Among some of the *nisei* who have become better educated, more analytical, and more objective with respect to Japanese life in America, the concern results not in an "inferiority complex" but also in inhibitions. Inferiority takes the form of withdrawal and avoidance, but even when there is a compensatory adjustment which makes contacts with Occidentals possible, there remains the problem of inhibitions. In a discussion of inhibitions in a newspaper article,[7] Shotaro Miyamoto points out that the home training builds up a reserve which tends to stop a free flow of discussion and conversation, and that, consequently, the *nisei* feel at a disadvantage in social intercourse. He also states that in his experience as a university teaching fellow he felt these primitive reserves holding him back and that he could not prevent his students from feeling that he was a little "distant." Even when a *nisei* does have Caucasian associates, it takes some time, experience, and understanding of the *nisei* background on the part of such friends before there is a feeling of freedom between them.

The development of an "inferiority complex," as the *nisei* use the phrase, may come at various ages. It is during the period of

[7] *Japanese-American Courier*, January 8, 1938; "Our whole life is spent in repressing impulses which normally are the freer reactions to social situations."

adolescence that the *nisei* is most likely to come into contact with the first real conflict between the American and Japanese ways of life. The sharp differences in the two attitudes toward sex make him aware of the significance of being "Japanese" and gradually draw him closer to the Japanese community. The second pull back into the Japanese group occurs when he finishes high school and begins his search for work. Even though he may have had friends with European ancestry in high school, his entrance into work usually means gradual isolation from such contacts and further development of Japanese acquaintances and activities. This development takes place also if he goes on to college, where his relations with other students are usually quite impersonal. Between a Japanese and a non-Japanese student there is usually a barrier of mutual recognition of fundamental differences.

As the individual is drawn more and more into Japanese activities, the fear of disapproval, the habits of reserve, and feelings of inferiority come into play. At this age he eventually "comes to see" what the older generation and more mature *nisei* have been talking about. He meets social realities head on, and it is at this time that he tests his personal and family resources for making adjustments and makes the final definition of the limitations within which he will live.

The feelings of inferiority seem to develop into two basic types, which might be called the withdrawing and the "compensating" types — the first comprising those individuals who withdraw completely into the Japanese community, and the second those who make an effort to overcome the obstacles and have relations with other Americans. The most signficant factors determining into which of these categories a *nisei* will develop are probably his family's status in Japan, his parents' attitudes toward problems of Americanization, their feeling of whether or not their residence in America is permanent, and their ability to direct and support the adjustments of their children. The emulative mode of training and the child's knowledge that he holds an inferior status create many situations of a comparative nature. If the child later approximates the achievement which is expected

of him, the "inferiority complex" does not become a point of discussion and rationalization. But in America, where achievement is undoubtedly rather difficult for the *nisei*, there are many instances of a wide gap between expectations and achievements.

Chapter IX

ASSIMILATION

The Pattern of Settlement

For almost a hundred years now Americans, especially on the West Coast, have been asking this question about our Oriental immigrants: "Can they be assimilated?" And it is an equally long period of time that the general populace has said, "No!"[1] The distribution of Japanese, for instance, has been pointed out to prove that people of Japanese ancestry have some inherent disposition which makes them want to live with their own kind and so are inassimilable. Although this interpretation is unacceptable to many, it is a fact that economic factors have worked to hold the Japanese in the Pacific States. As a consequence the factors of race, culture, and nationality have been highlighted to unusual importance in the Japanese struggle for a position in American society.

The Japanese like other immigrant groups and Americans of native stock were attracted to the Pacific Coast because of its expanding economy. At first almost any place along the coastal strip offered opportunities, but as settlement of the strip proceeded, new or better opportunities developed mainly in California, especially in Los Angeles County. If the Japanese had been able to compete freely in the American economy, it is probable that the pattern of settlement would have still resulted in the same general outlines as found in 1940. Without restrictions the Japanese would not have expanded into the middle or eastern part of the continent in any great numbers, for those areas were settled at the time of their arrival. Without discrimination there would have been other occupations into which some would have entered, and more of the settlers might have remained in the rural areas instead of moving into the cities.

[1]For a summary of the arguments see McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin*, "Assimilation: California Style," pp. 155ff.

The bulk of early immigrants arrived as agricultural workers, and many of them became impressed with what was possible in the future if certain lands could be put into production. The land of Florin, California was very resistant to cultivation; the logged over lands of the White River Valley, south of Seattle, in Washington, were not cleared easily. With their interest in land and willingness to pioneer, the Japanese were able to fit themselves into the rural economy of the West Coast.

Urban businesses developed to serve the earlier and newer immigrants. During the war from 1914 to 1918, there was an unusual demand from a variety of people for the services which the Japanese could provide, and so an increased number were able to fit themselves neatly into the urban economy of the large cities of the Pacific Coast. The residential areas founded on the small businesses of the immigrants were of the highly nucleated type. As businesses located in different areas of cities, and as the immigrants became more adjusted to the American way of life and were able to afford better residences, the community expanded, breaking away from the business centre of Little Tokyo. This expansion indicates clearly the desire of many Japanese to secure better homes and to work into businesses which for customers were independent of their own countrymen. If this process had continued in an economy characterized by unrestricted competition, Little Tokyo would have in time disappeared in a quiet and unceremonious manner, but at the same time it is likely that a good portion of the Japanese would have remained in the three coastal states. Any participation in the eastward trend would have, like other groups, been limited to highly selected occupations. With the major portion of the group thus remaining within a limited geographical area because of impersonal economic developments, the Japanese have because of racial and cultural differences become an easy mark for discriminating treatment which limited people of Japanese ancestry to a relatively few lines of occupation.

For the rural Japanese, and affecting the urban residents too, the factor of discrimination has forced them to integrate their agricultural developments. In farming and related functions the Japan-

ese have been acceptable, and so it has been possible for a son to go into the produce brokerage business while his father operated a farm. Perhaps a son would go into some firm or agency selling farm equipment or insurance, being accepted, of course, on the assumption that he would secure business from Japanese clients. This process of integration represents an intensification of the lines of development established by the first generation, and this part of the economic structure of Japanese communities rests ultimately on the Japanese farmer as the basic producer and buyer of goods and services. For the urban residents the strong incentive to go into white collar and professional occupations could, because of discrimination, be directed only into Japanese firms or small businesses. Discrimination has worked to limit the *nisei* to their own group, for it is extending across generations, and in turn, on a basis of discrimination in economics, Americans of European ancestry continue to claim that "Japanese can't be assimilated."

The limits within which one finally settled into the task of earning a living, either in urban or rural areas, whether *issei* or *nisei*, were narrow, and a consequence of this has been the development of very strong competitive efforts within Japanese communities which have erupted into conflict in the form of factionalism, rivalry, and other aggressive attitudes within family and community life. Although, for instance, the Japanese are well known for their traditional modes of co-operation, this conflict is one of the factors which have so far made Japanese producers' and consumers' co-operatives singularly unsuccessful in America. Again, such conflict has directed a portion of their energy into scrutinizing neighbours and friends. And undoubtedly the struggle and lack of success in achievement have contributed to the restlessness of the *nisei* prior to evacuation as seen in their great number of club functions, clique activities, picnics, and almost anything but staying home, even during week nights.

The pattern of settlement has been broken by enforced evacuation, but concentration and segregation are even more marked and significant in the assimilation process as long as Japanese remain within relocation centres. The seriousness of the present condition

is suggested by the statement of a temporarily confined *nisei*, "I used to speak English with a Japanese accent; now I speak Japanese with an English accent."

Marginalism

It is evident from the preceding chapters that the Americans of Japanese ancestry are marginal to the main body of Japanese culture. This is only natural. In language the *nisei* prefer English to Japanese, and there are numerous other ways in which their lack of incorporation in the parental heritage has been documented. It can be seen most clearly when *nisei* are put into positions in which they are expected to act like Japanese.

Yet although not incorporated into the main body of Japanese culture, the *nisei* do recognize that they are Japanese of sorts. It is clear that the continuity between the two generations has not been broken. Just as importantly, the Americans of European ancestry have kept telling them that they are Japanese. In the first case the parents have transmitted to their children in part the ancient and complete identification of race, culture, nation, language, and family which has resulted from the long, undisturbed historical processes within Japan. In the second instance the Americans have not let them forget the continuity of that identification mainly, of course, on a basis of race and name. The ways in which the *nisei* are Japanese culturally are not sufficiently obvious to provide a target for discrimination.

The most significant aspect of Japanese cultural heritage transmitted to the *nisei* is their general personality role of family membership. This basic role consists of at least three sets of attitudes: submission and recognition of authority and prestige of the parents, acceptance of family responsibilities, and maintenance of inviolate integrity of family status within the community. Although this general role is of the Old World, it is only a close approximation, for in Japan apparently a still higher level of conformance is expected.

In the criticism of the Old and New World roles, even though they are accepted, are expressed certain basic attitudes

which help explain the development of marginalism.[2] First, it is important to recognize the nature of cultural marginalism manifested by the *nisei*. These Americans recognize themselves as Americans of Japanese ancestry. They have no wish to change this basic identification. They have been trained by their parents to recognize their ancestry with Japan. Arguments about the go-between do not necessarily mean that they are attempting to avoid any such identification. To be such an American means that one has parents from the Old World who feel that their children are problems, for, due to their schooling and community contacts, they are unable to act like full-fledged Japanese. Gradually individual *nisei* come to rceognize the full social definition of this identification and group membership. To the problems associated with such membership, the various, well-known types of adjustments are made. To be marginal culturally may not indicate any effort to reject being an American of Japanese ancestry.

The general process of personal adjustments to conflict associated with their status does, however, develop in certain individuals desires to reject their group identification. This means that they would like to be rid of the Japanese component of their identification. These people are not only marginal culturally but also psychologically. It is this group which has failed to acquire sufficient stability to avoid finally asking the question, "What am I? Japanese or American?" It is a reflection of both family and community instability; it is a consequence of confusion in family and community roles. The individual who has become psychologically marginal is the person who has failed to acquire the techniques of managing frustration or conflict in a bi-racial and bi-cultural milieu.

Although certain dispositions may be set down as a result of early family life, the critical periods for the emergence of psycho-

[2]The first general statement on marginalism was made by Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1928, pp. 881-93. A more detailed statement is that of Stonequist, *Marginal Man*. Materials dealing with Japanese and Chinese will be found in Smith, *Americans in Process*.

For a brief statement of cultural conflict between *issei* and *nisei* and cultural marginality in a fairly stable rural area, see Smith, *Maui Youth Adrift*, pp. 62-4.

logical marginality appear to be at adolescence and, also, at the time the person is expected to accept community responsibilities. In the case of the *nisei*, the progressive assumption of roles as one matures has been characterized by progressive frustration. Without adequate means for handling frustration on a community level, such as continued support of family or a fairly stable self-conception, personal instability increases and unique definitions of one's problems become more prevalent and important.

The development of marginalism is progressive through the first and second generations, and perhaps through the third generation too. It is clearly progressive within the second generation, moving from less to more cultural marginalism between the older and younger age groups. As marginalism increases, especially that of the psychological type, there is a gradual breaking down of the ancient identification of race, culture, and nationality.[3] At the time of evacuation, only a relatively few *nisei* were asking: "What am I, Japanese or American?" As the problems become more acute and community organization less able to cope with them, such questions will be asked more frequently.

Little Tokyo as organized in 1940 was unfitted for *nisei* personality roles as they developed. It is true that the community organization had been changing since it was first well rounded out in 1907, but the adjustments had been made by *issei*, and those made were in response to changes in *issei* rather than *nisei* problems and status. Conflict between the two generations as well as their other problems which we have documented indicate clearly that the *nisei* would have to develop a community organization suitable for their own problems and status. Such an organization was emerging slowly at the time of evacuation in the spring of 1942.

Cultural marginalism involves a series of compromises which

[3]In his *From Many Lands*, Louis Adamic has published a long personal document of the life career and problems of "A Young American with a Japanese Face." The author of the document deals considerably with the problem of his family background and limitations due to Japanese ancestry. Yet in a later publication, *What's Your Name?*, p. 82, Mr. Adamic claims that " . . . in common with practically all *nisei* he never entertained the idea of 'Americanizing' his surname," and then goes on to say that "he has a strong sense of what is fitting, and an 'American' name would have worsened the doldrums he was going through as Kikuchi."

come to be incorporated in a personality in the form of reservations in conduct. As a consequence a personality developing around such compromises appears to develop a certain amount of rigidity of response. To associate with Japanese from Japan or with Americans of European ancestry involves areas of experience in which the usual *nisei* cannot act with complete ease. If family but not community roles are well established, shyness, timidity, or an apparent rigidity are likely to characterize responses in community situations.

Apparently the making of compromises and reservations is necessary in a bi-cultural milieu, but the person who becomes psychologically marginal is the one who is unable to accept them. The drives of such a person are to be mainly either American or Japanese. Because of race and living in America, such a *nisei* usually becomes hostile towards Japanese symbols, indicating that there is a fundamental wish to escape racial as well as the Japanese component of cultural heritage.

It is evident that neither cultural nor psychological marginalism of Americans of Japanese ancestry is fixed or final. It is found within the group in varying degrees, and it does not suffice to classify them as either marginal or non-marginal.[4] Before the full developments of marginalism can be studied in the second generation it will be necessary to study its trend within the third generation.

The pattern of settlement has been broken by evacuation. In re-organizing a new community life, the clarification of status will have been achieved when the *nisei* or their children are either permitted to integrate themselves into a broader foundation at a level which they feel is acceptable or else when they themselves have accepted peacefully and resignedly the agricultural, small business and domestic service occupations as a basis of life which Americans of European ancestry seemed willing to let them do until 1940.

It is evident that Little Tokyo will not be reconstructed on its

[4]This is a criticism against the procedure of W. C. Smith in *Americans in Process*.

earlier basis even if Japan is defeated decisively. Outside of relocation centres, the *nisei* are scattered widely in the Mountain Region and eastward. About 18,000 are serving in the armed forces while others are contributing specialized services. It is the intention of the War Relocation Authority that its centres be closed by January 1, 1946, thus pushing the remaining people out into the beginnings of a new phase of life, and this is not expected to change the present trends of scattering as stated above. But in all of this movement and scattering of settlement, a chief concern of Japanese leadership is that even under these trying conditions, they should demonstrate that cultural affinity with an enemy country is by no means political loyalty.

In considering the emergence of new statuses and community organization, it is just as important to realize that hundreds of Americans of European ancestry, people of the East, Midwest, and Far West, have and are working hard in the process of re-organizing attitudes towards the Americans of Japanese ancestry. They have set up committees of various kinds, they have helped with legal test cases, they have tried to prove that they are good neighbours, and they are trying to implement the rights of citizenship as they have been set down in the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments of the Constitution, and later amendments. Such activities directed towards the anti-orientalists or anti-Japanese propagandists tend to set the issues clean, and in view of the excellent military record of the American-born Japanese, it is not especially difficult to do that.

Assimilation is a much discussed and badly tossed about term. Descendants of earlier immigrants become impatient with more recent immigrants and their children, and we have thus believed that it could be accomplished quickly and perhaps without too much conflict. But this is not true. Assimilation requires considerably more time than we have been willing to allow, and more often than not we are discouraged with the extended conflict associated with it. But when one listens to Bill Hosokawa discuss the Japanese immigrants in the Malay Straits or in the Philippines, or when one reads of conditions of Japanese immigrants and

their children in Peru or Brazil, then one realizes that in Canada and the United States we do have the only examples where both groups, Europeans and Asiatics, old stock and new stock, are in the least concerned about facilitating the process of assimilation because they find it to be a social value to be achieved. And in looking at Malaya, Peru, and Brazil, one can only be surprised in noting that the first generation of American-born children of Japanese parents have already progressed so far in this movement requiring a number of generations.

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